FBIS DAILY REPORT

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HOXHA, OTHER LEADERS AT MARX CENTENARY MEETING

AU142134 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1900 GMT on 14 March broadcasts a 30-minute report on a commemorative meeting on the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx organized by the AWP Central Committee and the Tirana District AWP Committee and held that afternoon in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theater in Tirana. A reporter on the scene states that taking part in the meeting were vanguard workers and cooperativists, veterans, workers of the central departments, institutions and mass organizations, soldiers and young people. Those present applaud the entry of Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrades Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qirjako Mihali, Vangjeli Cerava, AWP Central Committee secretaries and other comrades.

The meeting is opened by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary. An 8-minute recording of Ramiz Alia's opening speech is given in which he evaluates the importance of the Marxist doctrine, which was further advanced by Lenin and Stalin.

Ramiz Alia then declares the meeting open, and the floor is taken by Foto Cami, candidate Politburo member and first secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee. A few minutes of Cami's recorded speech are given, after which the announcer gives a 20-minute summary of the rest.

According to the summary, Foto Cami outlines the importance of Marx's ideas in inspiring the proletariat and working masses in their struggles for freedom, independence, justice and social liberation.

He says that the bourgeoisie, reaction and revisionism attempt to show that Marx's teachings on the class struggle, revolution by force, and the dictatorship of the proletariat are old and no longer applicable, and they create reformist recipes of class compliance. "But the changes which have occurred in present capitalism do not at all affect its fundamental characteristics as an exploitative and oppressive order which is based on the private capitalist ownership of production means and where the great monopolistic bourgeoisie rules."

The summary of Foto Cami's remarks further states that Marx also rejected every form of national oppression and bourgeois chauvinism. Marx stated that a nation which keeps other nations under its yoke cannot itself be free. The Soviet social imperialists have transformed the Soviet Union into a prison of nations. They enslave peoples of the so-called socialist community and carry out aggressions such as in Afghanistan and Czechoslovakia, interfere in Poland and other countries.

The Cami summary continues: "The example of Titoite Yugoslavia also shows, unquestionably, that the departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism has led not only to the full reestablishment of capitalism with all its wounds, but also to deep national conflicts and quarrels which are undermining it from within. The bloody events in Kosovo, the oppression and savage terror which the Great Serb chauvinists continue to carry out against the Albanians to destroy by fire and steel their national freedoms and rights, their demands for the development of their mother tongue and culture, for the status of a republic of Kosovo within the Yugoslav Federation, unmasked before the whole world the Yugoslav revisionists' clamorous pretensions about the so-called exemplary solution of the national question in Yugoslavia. Life has fully proved our party's and Comrade Enver's anticipations that the Yugoslav self-management system, so greatly advertised by the Titoites and their imperialist patrons, has nothing in common with the true interests of the working class and the peoples of Yugoslavia, that it is a typical capitalist order held up by terror and force and with foreign aid and credits.

"The deep political, economic, and ideological crisis which Yugoslavia is presently going through is not a result of individual persons or organisms, nor of the international economic and political situation, as the Titoite revisionists wish to present it, but is a result of the self-management system itself, a warning of its inevitable failure."

Foto Cami is then reported as saying that "our party will continue to support the peoples' liberation struggles and unmask the distortions made in Marxism by various revisionists." There is no need for new socialisms, he adds; Albania continues to construct its new society according to Marx and Lenin's teachings, against all renegades of Marxism. We continue to enrich the doctrine of Marx "in an open and uncompromising struggle against the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism." All the measures taken by the party aim to hinder revisionism, to preserve the victories of the revolution against all internal and external enemies, to further advance the Marxist doctrine. This is the great merit of our party and Enver Hoxha, who have defended Marxism with actions.

PREMIER CARCANI RECEIVES IRANIAN AMBASSADOR

AU152008 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Mar 83

[Text] Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania today received Gholam 'Ali Heydar-Khaehpur, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and held friendly talks with him. Present at the reception was also Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

EDUCATION MINISTER RECEIVED BY TUNISIAN PREMIER

AU161946 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] On 15 March Mohamed Mzali, premier of the Republic of Tunisia, received Tefta Cami, minister of education and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The meeting, at which they had a friendly conversation, was also attended by Nesip Kaci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the Republic of Tunisia.

Tefta Cami, minister of education and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, returned home today. She was welcomed at the airport by Ajli Alushani, minister of health, and Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

BRIEFS

UN, AUSTRIAN AMBASSADORS -- By decree of the President of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Xhustin Papajorgji is appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary and permanent representative of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the United Nations, replacing Comrade Avdi Baleta, who is entrusted with another duty. Comrade Idriz Bazi is appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Republic of Austria, replacing Comrade Musin Kroi, who is entrusted with another duty. [Text] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 12 Mar 83 AU]

PROTOCOL SIGNED ON ITALIAN JUDGE'S VISIT

AU151527 Sofia BTA in English 1453 GMT 15 Mar 83

["Satisfaction With Useful Cooperation" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA) — A protocol on the results of the visit of the Italian magistrate Carlo Palermo in Bulgaria was signed here today.

It is pointed out in the protocol that on the grounds of the proposal made by the Bulgarian minister of justice to the Italian minister of justice for rendering assistance to the Italian investigation organs in the inquiry into illegal arms and drug trafficking, Mr Carlo Palermo, magistrate with the court in the town of Trento, Italy, and Mr Christoforo de la Corte, chief commissioner of the state policy of Italy, of the drug combat department with the central directory of the criminal police, paid a visit to Bulgaria from March 5 to 15, 1983. They had numerous working meetings with representatives of the law and the organs of the People's Militia of Bulgaria. The goal of these meetings was, above all, the fulfillment of the juridical order of examining the Turkish citizen Bekir Celenk, who is under the control of the Bulgarian authorities, by Dr Palermo and with the help of Dr De la Corte. The Bulgarian side audio- and video-recorded the examination and handed over the recordings, along with the protocols of the examinations, to Dr Carlo Palermo.

The implementation of the juridical order was permitted by the chief prosecutor's office of Bulgaria, in spite of the fact that no agreement on legal help is operative between Bulgaria and Italy.

Bekir Celenk was examined directly by Dr Palermo in accordance with the norms of the Italian legal procedure. Besides this, the Bulgarian legal authorities handed over to Dr Palermo copies of some documents useful for his inquest.

Along with this, for the first time contacts were established between the respective Bulgarian and Italian authorities, which led to a mutual exchange of information and data and created valuable preconditions for continuing the cooperation.

Especially useful were the visit to the Bulgarian frontier check-point of Kalotina on the Bulgaro-Yugoslav frontier and the meeting with representatives of the Bulgarian frontier organs and customs authorities.

After the completion of the task the two sides expressed satisfaction with the result, especially taking into consideration the difficulties connected with carrying out an inquest concerning several countries. They expressed confidence that cooperation in combating drug and arms trafficking and the struggle against terrorism will contribute to the improvement of interstate relations and to the development of international cooperation. In this connection a wish was expressed for the maintenance of similar and even closer contacts in the future.

The two sides underlined that the juridical moves made in Bulgaria comprise many useful elements, which will contribute further to the inquiry in Italy and in Bulgaria.

Dr Palermo and Dr De la Corte thanked the Bulgarian authorities and their colleagues for the assistance rendered to them and underlined that during the meetings and the fulfilment of the juridical order they showed wide-scale readiness, high professional and juridico-processual qualification.

LUKANOV MEETS MEXICAN, NICARAGUAN OFFICIALS

Activities in Mexico

AU101937 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Mexico, March 10 (BTA corr) -- Bulgarian Government delegation led by Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers was on a 3-day official visit here at the invitation of the Mexican Government.

Yesterday Mr Lukanov was received by Mexico's president, Mr Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado. He presented him a message by Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council. The president said that Mexico appraises highly Mexico and Bulgaria's relations of friendship and cooperation. He expressed his government's readiness and wish to continue in the future to encourage the all-round cooperation of these relations in the economy, culture, education and the techno-scientific sphere.

The two parties stressed that the present aggravated situation necessitates the search for new diverse and flexible forms and mechanisms for developing bilateral trade, for joint setting up of industrial enterprises, etc. Mr Lukanov also held meetings and had talks with the Ministries of Trade and Industrial Development, of Fishing, of Agriculture and Water Resources, of Power Generation, Mines and State Industrial Enterprises and of the Finance and State Credit. At these meetings there were discussed specific aspects of the future cooperation. The results of the talks are reflected in a memorandum, signed by Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers and by Mr Hector Hernandez Cervantes, minister of trade and industrial development.

Meeting in Nicaragua

AU121906 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 12 Mar 83

[Text] Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has arrived in Managua. In the very beginning of his visit, Lukanov met Henry Ruiz and Sergio Ramirez, members of the leadership of the Sandinist Front and of the Nicaraguan Government.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS BUREAU HOLDS SESSION

AU160851 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0430 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] The Council of Ministers Bureau has discussed issues on trade and payments between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union for 1983. New specifications were discussed for trends in the trade unions, for higher education faculties, and for the study period and the network of higher educational establishments.

The Council of Ministers Bureau also discussed a report on fulfilling the decisions of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers on building and commissioning the fifth power-supply block of the Kozloduy nuclear electric power station and additional measures were also undertaken for speeding up the project's construction.

A report was read on the fulfillment of Decree No 32 of 1977 of the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers on further developing and improving the record-keeping activity in the PRB. The Council of Ministers Bureau also approved measures for stopping the squandering of water, for utilizing it more rationally, and for providing new sources to meet the needs of the people and of the national economy.

Other items were also discussed.

ENERGY MINISTER NOTES DEVELOPMENT TRENDS

AU161639 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA) -- In 1982 again Bulgarian power generation contributed to the stable socioeconomic development of the country. This is stressed in the latest issues of the ECONOMIC LIFE, a weekly publication of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, by Mr Nikola Todoriev, minister of Bulgarian energetics. He noted that last year Bulgaria produced electricity exceeding by 10.4 per cent her 1981 production index. The growth almost entirely comes from the nuclear power capacities, where the output of electricity is increased by 17.8 per cent. According to the minister, these achievements are chiefly due to putting in exploitation the fourth reactor of the Kozloduy atomic power station, which has a capacity of 440 MGW and makes the capacity of the atomic power station now total 1760 MGW. Some thermo-electric power plants, working on local coal, have also increased their output. For this purpose the Bulgarian miners increased the coal output with 3 million tons last year.

Mr Nikola Todoriev dwelt on the problems pertaining to the introduction of new technologies for the production and transmission of electricity. The minister informed that the technology of direct low-calorie coal burning in the thermo-ele tric power stations (without preliminary drying), which has proved its advantages, is now being introduced on a wide scale, thus removing the need of drying works. The introduction of this technology is important to Bulgaria, because the country has mainly deposits of lignite and low-calorie coal.

The other major trend pointed out by Minister Nikola Todoriev is the reconstruction of the condenser turbines for work in a thermal mode with combined production of electric and thermal energy.

The Bulgarian minister of energetics dwelt on a circle of questions pertaining to the economy of fuels and energy, which is of great importance for raising the effectivity of the national economy. There is a programme developed along these lines and it extends to the period up to 1990. Mr Nikola Todoriev underlined that last year the expected effect of reducing the power consumption of the national economy, provided by the 1982 programme, was exceeded by 5.9 per cent.

A national contest for fuel and energy saving is being held in Bulgaria, too. Its particpants alone saved for the national economy last year 487 million kWh of electricity, 589,000 gigacalories of heat, 328,000 tons of coal, great quantities of liquid fuel and natural gas.

Mr Nikola Todoriev informed in conclusion that last year's consumption of energy per capita of the population in Bulgaria exceeded 4800 kWh. In this index Bulgaria has reached the world's most advanced countries.

He noted that the communal service sphere accounts for more than 22 per cent of the total energy consumption in Bulgaria. About the progress of central heating the Bulgarian minister said that last year the number of centrally heated flats in the country reached 295,000, while the people who use central heating -- 923,000, or 10 per cent of the population in the country. For the capital these percentages are higher. 61 per cent of the people in Sofia use centrally heated flats.

LILOV RETURNS FROM MOSCOW IDEOLOGICAL MEETING

AU161630 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] On 16 March the BCP Central Committee delegation led by Comrade Aleksandur Lilov returned from Moscow. The delegation took part in the meeting of the secretaries of the Central Committee of the socialist countries' communist and workers parties on international and ideological issues.

FEDERAL ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS, SPEECHES REPORTED

LD161220 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Deputies of the highest Czechoslovak representative body are concerning themselves at the 8th joint session of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly in Prague today with the fulfillment of the policy statement of the CSSR Government. Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, welcomed at the session Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic; Lubomir Strougal, federal premier; and members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Karel Hoffmann, Vaclav Hula, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny and Jozef Lenart; candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman and Miloslav Hruskovic; secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee Mikulas Beno, Josef Havlin, Frantisek Pitra and Jindrich Polednik; member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat Marie Kabrhelova, and the chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission Miroslav Capka. The meeting is also being attended by deputy premiers, ministers of the federal government, representatives of political parties and social organizations of the National Front and other guests.

At the outset of the session deputies paid their respect to the memory of the tragically deceased Zdenek Zuska, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, Czech deputy premier and deputy of the Chamber of People.

The plenum then verified the validity of the bye-election held in constituency No 1 to fill the vacant seat in the Chamber of People. Frantisek Sodoma, deputy chairman of the Mandate and Immunity Committee of the Chamber of People, reported to the session that Frantisek Stafa, a National Front candidate, had been elected by over 50 percent of the votes cast. The Chamber of People then unanimously endorsed the validity of that election. The newly elected deputy was then sworn in, as prescribed by the Constitution, by Vaclav David, chairman of the Chamber of People.

The CSSR Government's report on the fulfillment of the policy statement is being delivered by Premier Lubomir Strougal.

Strougal Assembly Address

LD170009 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] General secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, President of the Republic Gustav Husak, and other representatives of the party and state, met today in Prague at a joint meeting of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of the People and the Chamber of the Nations. Our correspondents Ivana Bernaskova and Lubos Lidicky report on the proceedings.

The main point on the agenda of the deliberations of the deputies was the report of the federal government on the fulfillment of its program. Before Premier Lubomir Strougal delivered his address, the newly elected deputy to the Chamber of the People, Frantisek Stafa, mayor of Prague, gave his oath, which was received by the chairman of the Federal Assembly. The deputies of the Chamber of the People then elected him to the Constitutional-Legal Committee.

The Federal Assembly's great attention to the fulfillment of the government program was illustrated by the fact that in this electoral period it was the second time that Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal delivered a government report to the deputies. Opening his address he said that the first 2 years of this 5-year plan had clearly confirmed the objective inevitability of following the course of consistent intensification in our economy.

We have achieved a higher industrial production growth than anticipated. We have made progress in levelling the disproportion between the development of industrial and agricultural production. In line with the plan, the extent of starting new investment projects was limited and thus the total volume of unfinished projects reduced.

When talking about the tasks we face, Comrade Strougal said:

[Begin Strougal recording] To achieve the targets and tasks of the 1983 plan, and the intentions for the remaining years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, requires a considerable increase in work productivity, effectiveness, and quality. We know there are still a number of branches in our economy where, despite some partial improvements achieved in recent years, we cannot be satisfied with the results achieved. Great reserves, which must be actively utilized, are hidden in both human and scientific-technological potential. Above all we require a more flexible and wider utilization of the results of science and technology in practice, a faster growth of labor productivity, and the reduction of costs and better utilization of the basic funds in those areas where this is desirable. Considerable savings can be made by commissioning production capacities at the time set, and with the planned parameters observed. Likewise, there are savings by the utilization of the vast means held in stock. It is precisely these questions on which we must concentrate the attention of all levels of management, because the path to the growth of national income and thus to prerequisites for the desirable (?growth) of living standards, leads through mastering these tasks. This is particularly valid in the sphere of the scientific-technological development, where we need to speed up considerably the utilization of its results, and to make progress from individual and partial actions to an incessant stream of innovation changes of products connected with new technological processes of higher productivity and better economy.

On the basis of the directives of the 16th CPCZ Congress we endeavor to find suitable ways and means toward this, which would, first, effectively stimulate the development of science, technology and the activity of the preproduction stages in general, and, second, create a need, and ever-greater interest, and, in a certain sense, an atmosphere of hunger for the results of science and research in enterprises, and to practice much more these results. The measures which we now test are to create economic conditions which would bring about the desired pressure on producers and, at the same time, actively stimulate them in this direction. In this respect it is necessary to exercise influence through both material and planning measures at all levels, from top to bottom, and through adjusting the tools of planned management, including finance wages, credit and prices.

In the interest of strengthening the power and responsibility of production-economic units, enterprises in particular, it will apparently be necessary to give them an opportunity to create material and financial resources for the necessary innovation changes and scientific-technological progress in general, and thus create for them general prerequisites for their long-term development. Organizational questions, too, play a substantial role in this respect, as regards both production and the scientific-research basis and preproduction stages. To put it simply: We must more effectively stimulate socialist entrepreneurship and producers' efforts to assert themselves against most demanding competition. It is necessary to remember that everybody whose production is of a high standard, who supplies flexibly and quickly according to the demands of customers, and, naturally, at acceptable prices, will assert himself even in the current ever-stronger competition on the foreign markets and in the current difficult conditions of foreign trade. [end recording]

In the next part of his address, Comrade Lubomir Strougal dealt with measures designed to raise the effectiveness of technological development. This concerns a more pronounced valorization of labor, raw materials and energy, more effective utilization of basic funds, and rational and good economic investment.

The point is that in the entire stage of the construction of socialism we have spent great means on the construction of hundreds of enterprises. Now we must use them really effectively. In this context Comrade Strougal said:

[Begin Strougal recording] The above-mentioned measures for raising the effectiveness of technological development, foreign trade and investment construction, which are now being tested in selected branches and spheres, aim not only at broadening the rights of the economic-production units, and enterprises in particular, but also at their much greater responsibility for satisfying the needs of society. We are aware that in this respect it will be necessary to finalize a whole number of matters, the most important among them being that we must make maximum effort to limit a levelling [rovnostarstvi] between enterprises, collectives and individual workers.

It is therefore necessary, above all, to apply more consistently that principle of self-accountancy [khozraschot] which links collective and personal material rewards and the levels of the funds allocated to enterprises with genuine economic results achieved by organizations. Naturally, these funds must also reflect the results achieved by foreign trade -- both gains and possible losses, the reduction of subsidies and the given quality and utility of production. No one should be able to rely on society forever to make up for losses suffered by enterprises and economic production units as a result of poor quality or ineffective production or because of goods for which we have no customers whatsoever, as the case has been so far. Likewise, in 1983, enterprises cannot rely on the bank to grant them credits for structurally insupportable overfulfillment of the planned levels of stocks.

I must say that one of the most serious weaknesses in effective management is that matters are not passed on to internal-enterprise units and internal-enterprise self-accountancy, in that the principle of rewards and merits is not implemented consistently, and the realization of the norm-setting basis in enterprises is slow and inconsistent. Therefore, we must demand from the relevant ministries and enterprises that they thoroughly analyze the causes of the fact that in this area we do not progress with sufficient speed, and, together with production-economic units and enterprises, they should create the necessary prerequisites for mastering this task. In 1983, the appropriate checking bodies led by the People's Control Commission, will carry out a consistent check in selected organizations in order to find out how the directives of the CPCZ Central Committee and the government on this question are being implemented. In this context, it is necessary to mention the fact that raising the effectiveness of the self-accountancy principles of the economy, and improving management in general, is determined by the realization and objectivization of value-related tools and criteria, in particular prices, profits, credits and hard currency tools. The shortcomings which exist in this direction obliterate the difference between effective and ineffective production, between good and poor enterprises. In order to improve this, we are taking certain steps, both in improving management and as regards new experiements which are being implemented this year. For these reasons, too, we shall carry out a gradual reconstruction of wholesale prices and we shall prepare and gradually implement a binding long-term program of limiting subsidies of all kinds, in particular limiting subsidies in those areas where it is economically desirable. [end recording]

The prime minister also paid great attention to the long-term strategy of our socio-economic development. In this context he pointed out the need to implement the new findings of science and technology in practice.

[Begin Strougal recording] Within the process of long-term planning, the main directions and tasks of scientific-technological development must be defined.

This will make it possible for scientific-technological capacities and preproduction units, in their long-term activity, to concentrate on selected areas, on concrete development programs, and on the necessary changes in the structure of production, and thus also on participation in the international division of labor. All this must inevitably fit into the whole context and connections of the whole-term plan and ensure orientation toward the development of productions capable of keeping pace with the best world products, and become the axis of the Czechoslovak economy's participation in international socialist integration and the world division of labor in general.

We see the most purposeful basic method of work in unceasingly comparing with the world, with other advanced socialist and nonsocialist countries. It will be necessary to overcome a number of existing incorrect approaches which so far unnecessarily encumber the process of creating plans and long-term prospects without making it possible to concentrate on the main elements of our economic present and future. Naturally, these documents should be further flexibly developed in the light of new development tendencies; they should be the underlying basis. The optimum approaches to preparing such programs are being sought also in other socialist countries and elsewhere in the world. To prepare a long-term concept of a country's development is far from easy -- many unknown indices and a great degree of uncertainty are involved in this. It is always necessary, therefore, to up-date and correct this long-term strategy in such a way that it is always close to the real needs and possibilities of Czechoslovakia within the framework of CEMA and taking into account general world trends. [end recording]

The federal government's report on the fulfillment of the program statement, which was delivered in the Federal Assembly by Premier Lubomir Strougal, also dealt with questions of legislative activity, improving the socialist legal code and deepening socialist democracy. In the premier's words, in this respect the citizens' contribution to solving all-society affairs should be increased through the national committees. The national committees should also tackle a great deal of work in the further development of services. As regards their management, the existing methods of planning have been reassessed with a view to reducing administrative demands. Comrade Lubomir Strougal said the following about services from the parliament platform:

[Begin Strougal recording] The basis for providing services is in socialist organizations. This is true now and will be true in the future also. If we want to make services accessible to citizens as much as possible, and at the same time maintain the right level of good economy, it will then be necessary to utilize more auxiliary types of services which will be offered by small shops and small cooperatives, or even by citizens authorized by the national committees. The prerequisites for the appropriate development of services must be created in their organizational structure and their economy. The long-term losses of some services paid for by citizens have discouraged enterprises from taking an interest in running these services, and thus the recent adjustment of their prices -- as carried out in the first stage -- was carried out with a view to ensuring at least the minimum economic viability.

Within adopted price limits, the national committees have an opportunity to seek space for raising the profitability of services, because in a number of enterprises there are undeniable reserves, particularly as regards reducing running costs and the consumption of raw materials. The aim of all these measures is to gradually eliminate the shortcomings justly criticized by our citizens. By this I mean, above all, the inadequate flexibility and accessibility of services and their quality. One must say that in this direction we are presently at the very beginning.

Although we praise what has already been done, we still have a great deal of work ahead of us. In the interest of the general public, working women in particular, we must improve services of all types, their structure and purposeful location.

National committees on all levels and production-consumer cooperatives should show initiative in developing services in all possible ways. The federal, republican and enterprise branches must also show more initiative in running their organizations which are well equipped for this work. In cooperation with the national governments we want to continue preparing major changes, particularly in organizing public catering, local construction activity and the housing fund. The interests of consumers must be at the forefront of attention in this respect. Well-functioning services and flexible and quality repairs carried out by construction organizations to a large extent determine the satisfaction of citizens. In order to make further progress in this direction, it will be necessary to solve a number of conflict situations, which sometimes even include cadre questions. Much more initiative on the part of all bodies responsible for the smooth running and further development of services will especially be needed. [end recording]

In his speech Comrade Lubomir Strougal also paid considerable attention to the foreign policy of his government and the situation in the world. He said that the government identified itself with the conclusions reached by the 16th party congress on the world situation. This is based on the irreplaceable role of the countries of the socialist community in the struggle for averting the catastrophy of world war, for strengthening peace and for restoring the principles of the policy detente which the government considers to be the only possible base for the coexistence of countries with different social systems. In this connection the federal premier said:

[Begin Strougal recording] Speaking in the words of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact, which met last January: We want to halt feverish armament, particularly nuclear armament, in order to save the old continent from the deployment of more arms, especially U.S. medium-range missiles, and in this way avert nuclear catastrophy. The emphasis which we put on disarmament talks, on the maintenance of a military balance and on the well-tried principles of coexistence sharply contrasts with the policy of threats and completely rejects the military doctrine now fashionable in the West concerning the use of short-term or long-term war.

At the committee's session we approved a Political Declaration which is a program of the struggle for saving mankind from the danger of nuclear war. Its concept represents a very realistic basis for the unification of all peace-loving forces.

In assessing the results of the Political Consultative Committee, the Presidium of the party Central Committee and the federal government emphasized that they find particularly important the proposal on concluding an agreement on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO member-states. We are aware that most, if not all, problems of Europe concern the relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. We also know that the largest number of troops and weapons, including nuclear arms, are amassed on the old continent. This is why we want to weaken this permanent source of tension or quite possibly eliminate it, not only with the use of principles set by the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, but also by rejecting military force as a means for solving disputes. The proposal of the Political Consultative Committee goes substantially further. It proposes a concrete, legally binding pledge which rules out a military clash while at the same time forms a basis for creating an atmosphere of political trust as a prerequisite for achieving real results in disarmament, for strengthening security and expanding mutually advantageous cooperation.

In addition the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear or conventional weapons against one another includes the proposal to ban the use of force against third countries.

Response to Soviet Appeal

LD162148 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Deputies of the Federal Assembly today unanimously approved the declaration of the Federal Assembly in response to the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee to the parliaments, governments, and political parties and nations of the world, which says:

On the occasion of the historically significant 60th anniversary of the foundation of the USSR, the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee to the parliaments, governments, political parties and nations of the world came from Moscow. The appeal calls, above all, for doing away with the danger of war, for maintenance and strengthening of peace in the world and for securing man's right to live. The Federal Assembly, in absolute agreement with the opinion of all Czechoslovak people, warmly welcomes this peace initiative, agrees with it and expresses its full support.

It is typical that it has come from the capital of the first socialist state which entered the international political scene with the Leninist decree on peace, to which noble ideas it has always remained loyal. The nations of the whole world see yet again that socialism and peace are inseparable. In the same spirit of sincere striving for the maintenance of peace, the deliberations of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states was held in Prague 4-5 January this year.

Our capital is connected in this way with another exceptionally important peace initiative of the Warsaw Treaty's highest body. The Political Declaration, adopted at the end of the deliberations, with its constructive proposals is based on the conviction that there is a real possibility for halting the dangerous development in the world, caused by the most reactionary forces of imperialism, a possibility of averting the danger of nuclear catastrophe and of fully restoring and developing the well-tried policy of detente and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Led by these humanistic aims, the Warsaw Treaty member-states submitted a whole complex of concrete proposals aimed at halting the arms race, disarmament and strengthening the atmosphere of mutual trust.

We consider as highly constructive the stimulus for opening direct talks between the Warsaw Treaty member-states and the NATO member-states and maintenance of peaceful relations between the states of the two military-political unions -- which other states of the world can join as participants with equal rights, if they wish. We fully support also all other proposals contained in the Political Declaration and we consider exceptionally pressing those concerning the Soviet-American talks on nuclear strategic arms and arms of medium range, the talks on reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe, and other disarmament talks, and also on the Madrid meeting of representatives of countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Now it is up to the NATO countries to give an equally matter-of-fact and constructive answer in accordance with the vital interests of all nations and states, regardless of their social systems.

In the days when we recall 44th anniversary of the occupation of our country by Hitlerite fascism, we call against the danger of a new world war. We do not forget why this tragedy happened to our people and what price the European nations paid for it.

We do not forget what sacrifices and hardship we went through in those years of Nazi darkness, how many lives of our people and citizens of other countries, above all of the USSR, were given for the liberation of Czechoslovakia. We were among the first victims of Hitlerite aggression and it was on our territory that the last shots of the Second World War in Europe were heard. We have the right and the duty to express our stance on the fatal issue of war and peace becasue our country is in the heart of Europe, on the border of two social systems and their military associations, in the area which would be among the first to be afflicted in the event of military conflict.

We highly appreciate the humane effort and selflessness of the peace movement in the world which is continuously joined by greater groups of citizens, regardless of their social position, political or religious beliefs, who are imbued with the common idea of defending the basic human right -- the right to live in peace. Participants in the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against the Nuclear War, whom we shall soon welcome in our capital, will have the opportunity to see the depth and sincerity of the peaceful thinking of our people.

The CSSR Federal Assembly, as the highest body of state power, aware of its share of responsibility for ensuring peaceful conditions for the life of our people, unanimously declares that in its entire activity, in the work of deputies in the election districts and at international forums, will not spare any efforts and will do everything to contribute by its influence to implementation of the noble aims, contained in the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee on 22 December 1982 and in the Political Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states on 5 January, 1983.

Libya Friendship Treaty Approved

LD162245 Prague CTK in English 1555 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Prague [no dateline as received] -- The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly approved here Wednesday a treaty on friendship and cooperation between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek stressed on this occasion that the Czechoslovak people have always been supporting the just struggle of the Libyan people for national and social liberation, and welcomed with sincere sympathies the victory of the revolution on September 1, 1969, which started the great process of progressive changes in the country, and crowned by successes in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

Czechoslovakia follows with interest the effort of this friendly Arab country for the creation of a new society on socially just foundations, based on the right to freely use national natural riches and results of work to the benefit of the working people. Minister Chnoupek also highly appreciated the progressive foreign policy of the Libyan Jamahiriyah, consistently directed against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism and racism, and stressed that the treaty ensues from principles fixed firmly in the treaties which have been concluded with Afghanistan, Socialist Ethiopia, the Yemen People's Democratic Republic and the Angolan People's Republic.

The signing of this significant document took place at the time of dangerous attacks of imperialism and Zionism against the people of the Arab countries, which underlined the fact that the progressive forces of this part of the world have real friends and allies in the Czechoslovak people, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek said.

Deputies of the House of the People and House of Nations Stanislav Toms and Jan Sebestian stressed that the new stage in Libya's modern history made it also possible to develop broad Czechoslovak-Libyan cooperation.

The cooperation is being realized not only in the political sphere, but is very important also in the economic field. The turnover of bilateral trade grew from 176.2 million dollars in 1980 to 222.8 million dollars in 1981. There also exist cultural, educational and scientific contacts between the two countries, and since 1981 contacts in the sphere of health care. The purpose of the treaty, which was signed by Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi in Prague last year, is to develop these contacts and maintain good bilateral relations.

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSES AGRICULTURAL RESULTS

AU111538 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 10 March 1983 carries on page 3 an approximately 6,000-word roundtable discussion report by Milan Pavlik and Jaroslav Michalek entitled "Broad People's Understanding, a Prerequisite of Success." The participants in the discussion are Engineer Alex Novotny, candidate of sciences and secretary of the CPCZ's East Bohemian Regional Committee; Engineer Jan Vodehnal, director of the regional agricultural administration in Hradec Kralove; Engineer Hynek Jirout, deputy director of the same administration; Engineer Josef Brenek, director of the district agricultural administration in Svitavy; Dr Jaroslav Pirkl, veterinarian and director of the state farm in Ceska Trebova, Usti Nad Orlici District; Jirina Michlova, chairwoman of the unified cooperative farm in Skorenice in the same district; and Engineer Miroslav Vacek, chairman of the unified cooperative farm in Policka, Svitavy District.

In assessing the validity of the principles of the improved system of agricultural management in the first year, Novotny notes that the implementation of "one of the decisive principles of the wage policy -- payment according to merit" is not yet completely satisfactory; and that the "substantial reduction in the number of binding plan indexes to five indexes at most has caused certain problems" both in agricultural enterprises and in certain procurement organizations, where "old methods of acquiring raw materials" were still in use last year. Pirkl praises the decreasing routine in planning, Vacek the improved utilization of land via draining and amelioration, Brenek the increased saving of crude oil and feed concentrates, and Vodehnal the farms' increased sense of responsibility; however, he adds, "the people's material interests and their links to the results of agricultural primary production are not on the desired level."

The change toward more independent decisionmaking by enterprises, Michlova then says, could tempt the farms to speculate in planning their production. Pirkl says in this context that his enterprise "was criticized for not ensuring counterplanning," but that it did not know the quality of its silage and its effect on milk yields; he warns that "in agriculture the situation is slightly more complicated than in industry; we must all realize this." According to Vodehnal, last year the "problems in the plan breakdown in the region were concentrated in the sphere of plant production," mainly because of troubles in the supplier-consignee relations: Some organizations signed contracts for purchasing produce on the basis of "unrealistic hectare yields," above all in flax, sugar beet and cereals; moreover, he says, "the ministry counted on a production of 40,000 tons more" than was offered by the enterprises under the conditions of the improved system.

Brenek suggests assessing "not solely the economic results," but also, "regularly and systematically" the working-political qualities of all technical-economic staff. But "changes in planning have found agricultural enterprises to a certain extent unprepared" and "old habits have persisted in people's minds -- particularly the thesis that, in fact, agricultural administrations think for the enterprises and will break down in detail the specific tasks for them," Novotny points out.

In dealing with the implementation of the personal responsibility of individual executives, and with the means for stimulating their creative initiative and their independent solution of partial problems, Michlova stresses the role of control and checking and the stimulating effect of appropriate remuneration for technicians. Vacek mentions the introduction of a "quality contest" for working collectives; Pirkl notes that, in explaining the new principles of the management system, his enterprise had "concentrated on material interests," since one of the "most important results" of implementing the principles "is money." Jirout assesses as "positive that the regulation of average earnings has been given up" since "in the preceding period this administrative measure blunted the initiative of enterprises in adopting higher tasks and did not resolve at all the effective use of manpower." He also lauds the "system of creating wage means" in farms through increased output and of remunerating "menial workers according to the third wage scale," and technicians and experts according to a better scale than the one used to date. He nevertheless criticizes the "incompletely resolved" and "excessively complicated regulations on granting bonuses and rewards to workers and technical-economic staff," which are "rather incomprehensible and do not adhere to the specifics of agricultural production and the working process."

Speaking of enterprise cost-accounting (khozraschet), Vacek sees it as a "tool for improving the enterprise economy" and not a "means for improving bookkeeping on remuneration" -- a "distorted" view upheld by some. Pirkl's enterprise is experimenting with the "complete khozraschet" via the "brigade form of organizing work and remunerations," but he says that it is still too early to speak of results. Novotny believes that this form will motivate people to enhance their efforts; and Jirout wants the results of "intraenterprise khozraschet" to be reflected in every man's wages, but is "dissatisfied with the criteria for distributing the shares only according to a worker's earnings." Agriculture must give preference to certain categories of workers, he argues, whose wages are not in keeping with their meritorious work for their enterprises; this must be remedied by "bonuses according to results." Brenek notes some negative phenomena, such as the fact that "all the means that the original plan was counting on" were not available, especially regarding machinery.

Vacek then stresses the need to use socialist competition for "improving quality, economy and other criteria," which is not sufficiently done. Michlova urges that more attention be given to innovators, in deepening the effects of the new system and Pirkl urges a thorough elaboration of the brigade form of organizing work and of remuneration; Jirout stresses the role of counterplanning and Brenek the importance of ensuring the elimination of differences in production results; and Novotny lists the main tasks of East Bohemian farmers: "more rapid development of plant production;" "intensification of cattle breeding;" and coping with issues in production efficacy, reduced fuel consumption and thrift in material and power consumption.

The two reporters sum up by saying that the "transition to new planning and administration principles will not be easy" and will be a "significant political task." "Certain details" of the measures taken "will probably have to be reassessed and perhaps amended," but "success is not unachievable."

PRESS ON 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF MARX'S DEATH

AU151614 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 12 March carries on page 3 a 2,000-word unsigned article entitled "On the 100th Anniversary of Karl Marx's Death; He Devoted His Life to Liberating the Working People." The article elaborates on Marx's life and work as an "outstanding scientist, but also selfless and consistent revolutionary," and then deals with the "creative development of Marx's doctrine" by Lenin. After dealing with "Leninism as the Marxism of the present era," the editorial continues: "One of the frequently used, and again topical, attempts at weakening the influence of Marxism-Leninism is the endeavor to separate Leninism from Marxism, to present it as a variant of Marxism that is dependent on time or place and that has already lost its significance for the workers movement. The discrepancies between the young Marx, who was a revolutionary, and the older, mature Marx who allegedly shifted to a reformist stand are repeatedly pointed out. It is being 'proved' that contemporary capitalism has changed so much that the class fight no longer has a place in present society, and that in the so-called industrial, postindustrial or technocratic society the role of the workers class is diminished and the class itself is actually disappearing....

'However, despite all these efforts by the bourgeois ideologists, the interest in Marxism-Leninism as a realiable orientation and the complicated issues of the present world continues to exist and is constantly growing," the paper says.

After citing examples to prove the "lasting visability and topicality" of Marxist theory, the editorial quotes Andropov on the need to enrich and develop it and then notes the "creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism under Czechoslovak conditions:" "Czechoslovakia was the first industrially developed country to take the path toward socialism, thus disproving revisionist opinions about socialism being unsuitable for industrially developed countries," the paper underscores.

The editorial concludes by dealing with Marx's hard life and eternal fame.

On 14 March RUDE PRAVO carries on page 1 a 1,200-word editorial entitled "Marx and Our Present." After elaborating on the significance of Marx's doctrine, further developed by Lenin's genius, the paper says that he who wants to be a true Marxist "must necessarily become a Leninist." "A dogged battle has been, and is still, raging around Marxism," the paper continues, disclaiming allegations that "Marx's theory has become obsolete and has nothing to say to the present."

"Currently Marxism-Leninism is being collectively developed by the communist and workers parties on the basis of their extensive experience acquired in the fight against imperialism -- a fight conducted under very diverse conditions. Together with other fraternal parties, the CPSU is substantially contributing to further developing all aspects of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The CPSU is the most experienced political force of the international communist and workers movement and is doing everything to consolidate the unity of the international communist movement. It develops fraternal contacts with all communist and workers parties, and coordinates its course with the efforts of all detachments of the international revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine is also the firm ideological foundation of our own CPCZ's policy, for today and for the future," the paper says, adding that "our international policy proceeds from the principles of proletarian internationalism, from the identity of interests and firm unity with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. In the spirit of the results achieved at the international conferences of communist and workers parties, we have strived in the past, and are striving at present, to comprehensively deepen the solidarity of the international communist and workers movement and successfully develop it.

"We have been consolidating relations with the national-liberation, democratic, and progressive movements throughout the world, and the same applies today. We have helped push through the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and we are doing the same today when the reactionary forces of imperialism, especially those in the United States, are again striving to speak the language of the cold war."

In its 1,500-word editorial on the same day carried on page 1 and entitled "A Doctrine Forever Alive," Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak deals with the socioeconomic impact and significance of Marxism.

Also on the same day PRAVDA carries on page 3 a 3,000-word article by Jozef Bobok entitled "Karl Marx's Revolutionary Legacy and the Present; V.I. Lenin: To 'Constantly Seek Marx's Advice.'" After pointing out the topicality of Marx's ideas on the role of the workers class, Bobok goes on to say: "Proletarian internationalism, the international solidarity of the workers class, is in fact the condition of its victory. To neglect or relinquish the principles of proletarian solidarity damages not only the international workers movement but, above all, the national interests of the workers class of the appropriate country. And the present provides us with very telling examples of this."

"The international workers class," the paper continues, "headed by the Marxist-Leninist parties, is at present waging an active battle against the unleashing of a new world war, against local wars, and for a world without wars, for its democratic and socialist future. In doing this it is rallying around itself millions of active fighters for peace and fighters against the policy of armament and of preparations for aggression." Bobok then deals with the "most important feature of the Marxist doctrine -- its internationalism," and continues: "Real Marxists are opposed to the schematic, dogmatic implementation of Marxism which ignores specific historical conditions and ideosyncrasies of this or that country. The united, international task of the workers class and the working people is to create a classless society.

"But it is impossible to simplify things and think that the unity of laws governing the battle for socialism itself guarantees that the uniform international task can be accomplished by using identical means and taking identical paths. The correct understanding and theoretical generalization of every country and every communist party have a great basic significance. Every unity envisages not only identity but diversity in the specific, in forms and methods, and this diversity is undoubtedly also significant." Bobok continues this thought and says: "At present, when three main revolutionary streams are merging in a united stream of world revolutionary process, the scientific and practical-political significance of Marxism for all areas of the globe is particularly coming to the fore. From this viewpoint it seems particularly unjustified to interpret Marxism in a Eurocentrist way, as though Marx had proceeded exclusively from European -- or even West European -- experience, and as if his doctrine were not applicable to other continents for this reason alone. The same applies to Leninism, which allegedly corresponds only to specifically Russian conditions. That is why we stress that the view that Marxist-Leninist doctrine has only regional applicability is fundamentally incorrect, both materially, and methodologically."

Bobok then goes on to say that "the primary task of scientific communism" is to get "linked to all generally democratic movements -- the national liberation movement, the antimonopoly movement, the peace fighters movement and so forth, while preserving the leading role of the workers class and expanding the influence of its class-oriented and party-minded qualities on the democratic forces and strata in the society."

Speaking of the claims that Marxism has become "obsolete," Bobok states that "all the historical experience of the 20th century convincingly proves that Leninism is á Marxism which was consistently, comprehensively developed by V.I. Lenin under new conditions," adding that "without Lenin's contribution Marxism would have become fossilized."

Bobok then deals with another "thesis that socialism in the USSR is, allegedly, a socialism only for insufficiently developed countries." In disproving this "incorrect" thesis, Bobok recalls that "every kind of experience in a socialist revolution is interesting and instructive for all fighters for the socialist reconstruction of life." "On many specific issues the experience of the socialist countries is specific. But to see only these aspects means to lack a realistic picture. The main thing is not that experience confirms the existence of specific features -- true communists have never doubted this. The main thing is that the experience of different countries, which are frequently very dissimilar, confirms the existence of generally valid features of socialism," Bobok says.

He then continues: "Currently it is imperative for the communist movement to study the accumulated historical experience of socialism, and to approach its development in a creative manner. This fact is part of the fundamental equipment of the communist movement and a guarantee of its future successes.

It is more valid than ever that communists in socialist as well as capitalist countries fully grasp and respect the differences between the conditions in which the communist parties of the socialist and the nonsocialist part of the world carry out their activities. This is necessary so that they do not assess each other from the point of view of the conditions in which they live. Because it sometimes happens that communists in the West assess socialist democracy in the countries of real socialism not according to the real possibilities it guarantees to the people, but, for instance, according to whether there is a political opposition in the socialist country in question, whether political forms are applied in it that are typical of the relations in a society with class antagonisms. It is only if we proceed from these differences that we can mutually and correctly assess experiences and policies.

"Current world developments point to the importance of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of dialectics in the general and specific aspects of the liberation movement, to the importance of studying the general laws governing the world revolutionary process," Bobok continues. "The most important aspect of the present era is that the solution of national tasks facing every country increasingly depends on the situation in the world; that it is possible to fight successfully only by intertwining the communists' national and international responsibility. A revolutionary, patriotic, internationalist policy is the only firm foundation on which the development of the international communist movement is possible," Bobok states.

He then elaborates on the "position of the international communist movement as the most influential political force at present."

On the same day PRAVDA carries on page 4 a 110-word CTK Beijing dispatch on the "solemn rally held on the 100th anniversary of Karl Marx's death," addressed by Hu Yaobang, CPC Central Committee general secretary; he is quoted as calling Marx "the greatest revolutionary and scientist in mankind's history -- a great teacher of the proletariat and the oppressed people throughout the world and founder of scientific communism," and saying that "the great ideal of communism as it was formulated by Marx and Engels is inspiring the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples in the fight for their rights, and inspiring all of progressive mankind to fight for a better future."

The secondary Czechoslovak dailies commemorate the occasion with shorter reports and articles.

PAPER RESPONDS TO 'CRITICISM' BY PCI CONGRESS

AU141444 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Mar 83 p 5

[Milan Jelinek article: "On the PCI Congress"]

[Text] The 16th PCI Congress was held 2-6 March in Milan. It was held in a complex international situation, complicated and aggravated by imperialism's continuing offensive, and during a period of the progressive forces' great struggle to succeed in defending peace and consolidating security in the world. The situation in Italy itself is no less difficult: The working people there are undergoing an acute crisis of the capitalist social system. All these weighty and cardinal issues of international developments, as well as the one-too-propitious Italian domestic-political developments, were included in the agenda of the Congress of Italian Communists and have emphatically influenced the course and resolutions of the congress.

Italy is one of those bourgeois states of Western Europe which reflect the common critical problems of the capitalist world most deeply and extensively. The life of the country is burdened by a high unemployment rate and by inflation, by the pauperization and poverty in the southern part of the state, by the drawn-out government crisis; the world public knows very well how the criminal activities of the political and criminal Mafia, of terrorist organizations, are disrupting the country. The Italian press carries much information which shows the serious crisis in the bourgeois society and the disintegration of the state apparatus.

In present-day Italy people say that it is imperative and urgent to find a way out. The hopes of the working people, of progressive and left-wing forces are turning to the PCI; they expect the Italian Communists to succeed in defending the working people's basic interests, to show the way to establish social justice and freedom, to resolutely oppose the threat of war by adopting measures and projects for ensuring Italy's peaceful future.

The PCI has many members; no problems in present-day Italy can be resolved without its participation. It is the second strongest party in the Italian political arena and, naturally, its views carry a corresponding weight and significance within Italy. That is why the tasks it has are all the greater and more responsible.

Indisputably, the attitude adopted by the 16th PCI Congress on the issues of war and peace, on disarmament, and the inevitability of detente, must be appreciated. The Italian comrades have condemned the aggressive U.S. policy which is threatening all states and peoples in the world indiscriminately, which is escalating the dangerous tension in international relations. If this tension does not stop -- and this is the peace defenders' most topical current task -- it can lead to an all-annihilating war conflagration. The PCI has supported the latest Soviet peace initiatives which were submitted by Yuriy Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and which concerned negotiations on limiting and completely liquidating medium-range nuclear arms in central Europe. The congress emphatically protested against preparations for deploying new American medium-range missiles in Italy, and sharply criticized the Italian Government for lending Italian territory for American war plans.

Enrico Berlinguer, who was re-elected PCI secretary general, demanded that efforts be made to bring about a successful conclusion of the Soviet-American Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear arms not only with regard to missiles, but also to extend them to include all kinds of nuclear arms in Europe.

He condemned the so-called concept of automatically deploying American nuclear missiles if no agreement is reached in Geneva. Actually, it is generally known that it is an insidious maneuver by U.S. and NATO militarist circles to get American missiles into Western Europe at any price, against the will of the European peace-loving public. The American and West European reaction's scenario to drag the Geneva negotiations into a blind alley, and immediately to deploy American weapons, must be frustrated at the very beginning. In view of their international significance, these standpoints are among the most basic aspects of the Italian Communists' congress.

A powerful call resounded at the congress for an independent Italian foreign policy. The bourgeois government is blindly, obediently following the United states, pursuing an "American policy" to the gross detriment of the Italian people's most vital national interests. The congress strove to assert the thesis on an independent foreign policy that would respect the Italian people's wishes and will, one that would get rid of subordination to American imperialism, of being ordered about by it, since it is pursuing its own profit-seeking global strategic interests which are detrimental and completely alien to Italy, and which contradict its needs.

In this connection we stress again that the PCI Congress was held in a situation in which the United States -- where an extremely reactionary wing of the American bourgeoisie, a group of the monopolist capital, is in power -- is exerting enormous, systematic pressure on the capitalist world. The United States frankly proclaims as its goal the achievement of world hegemony, and is striving with all its might to halt social progress in the world. It is making use of a wide range of political, economic, and military pressure, of its propaganda machinery, particularly in countries where the local bourgeoisie is its class ally. And Italy is a capitalist state. The coordinated international attack launched by imperialism, which is proceeding unitedly in this matter, is logically aimed against the PCI in particular. We must not lose sight of this fact. The weapons of our common class adversary have a poisonous edge and, if they are not consistently warded off, they can cause painful wounds. This is testified to by the experience of the international communist movement.

Truly, the PCI is faced by many intricate problems. The Italian comrades are looking for a way out. They believe that one way is the so-called democratic alternative -- in alliance of progressive left-wing and socialist, but also "lay" bourgeois political parties against the "political feudalism" of the largest governing party, the Christian Democrats. This is not the first project formulated by the PCI for solving the problems of the Italian society. The PCI leadership has already relinquished some of them, for instance, that of a "historic compromise." At the congress it was stated that the so-called democratic alternative is a long-term project. But the nature of this alternative remains a question also for the PCI itself, and the end of the congress has not yet meant the end of the discussion about the actual meaning of the so-called democratic alternative; the crystallization of stands in the party will continue.

Both at the 16th PCI Congress and, above all, in the pre-congress theses, opinions were voiced about some kind of "model of socialism" that is being carried out in the Soviet Union and other countries of real socialism. Unjustified criticism of the socialist countries was voiced in this context at the congress by the PCI leadership. The CPSU, like our own party and the other fraternal parties, has stressed time and again that we do not present our path of socialist construction as the only possible one, as a kind of "model." We cannot agree with the stands expressed by the PCI in connection with this issue; nor can we agree with the thesis on the "exhausted momentum of the Great October Socialist Revolution."

Creative search on the path toward socialist and communist construction is one of the principles of Marxism-Leninism -- a great and living doctrine that the CPCZ is realizing at the side of the Leninist party of Soviet Communists in its everyday practice. It is both beneficial and advantageous to do this on the basis of tested and valid principles of Marxism-Leninism. Such is our conviction, our experience.

Currently the international communist and workers movement is faced by a truly history-making task -- the elimination of the war threat and the ensurance of peace. We are convinced that this task unites all communist parties, as well as all democratic and progressive forces of the world. The common, united road of the peace struggle is the supreme duty, above all, for us Communists.

EDITORIAL DEMANDS ORDER, DISCIPLINE FOR ALL

AU151510 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Mar 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Discipline and Order"]

[Excerpts] Our Communist Party and socialist society are now undergoing a fierce and complex economic and political struggle. This is an understandable fact. After all, progressive forces and the alliance of reactionaries are waging an irreconcilable struggle in the class-divided world, which oscillates at the edge of war and peace. This struggle also concerns us. We are not living in a vacuum. The struggle concerns all, without exception, whether we like it or not. Our revolutionary path is not sprinkled with white sand; there are no parks of repose on it full of sunshine and flowers. We are engaged in a struggle.

We, in Socialist Czechoslovakia, are in the front line of this struggle. We must thrust our way forward through the roadblocks which the enemy has erected before us and must cope with the consequences of our own mistakes. Life has its sharp edges and from time to time we will cut ourselves on them. However, the main and crucial thing is that, despite everything, we are successful in our work, that no past generation of the Czech and Slovak nations had achieved what we have achieved.

Such is our present, free of any idealization and beautification, on the soil of which one not only wins but loses, along the path of which one may stumble but must get up and keep walking. Our path has its curves and steep ascents; it has its gentle and its rough appearances. Often it is very hard to follow this path. Small wonder, after all -- as the proverb says -- even a blind mare can run on an even road. We, on the other hand, must overcome obstacles on our path. That is why discipline and order are so badly needed -- high up, but also at the very low places. There cannot be order and discipline at the top when they are not below; and there cannot be order and discipline below when they are not at the top. The party leadership has said more than once, and emphatically so, that the demand of discipline and order applies to everyone, regardless of his position. However, there are still people who think only of themselves, forgetting the others, society.

Yes, what we need is firm and highly motivated discipline and order. This has nothing to do with ordering around. It is the inevitable order of the day. And it is also a necessary, essential component of socialist democracy. We all are obliged to comply with it: workers, farmers, foremen, directors, ministers, and the ministries' staffs. Simply, everyone who is not indifferent to the future fate of this country.

It would be shortsighted if we failed to see that discipline and order have not yet entered the bloodstream of some comrades, that these comrades lack a sense of good quality work. If they are honest they will have to admit that they are not faring well in their sector precisely because they are thinking, above all, of themselves and neglecting everything else. Let such people quickly find a remedy, especially on their own, or even better let them swiftly relinquish their posts and seek other posts with which they could cope and where they could be of greater use. Because when it comes down to it, when the hour of truth comes and they will have to give account of who is responsible for the poor work, weak management and "turkish" economy, they will shed tears over the result.

Our party and society, our efforts for more discipline and order, require determined, frank, honest and dedicated people. The combat detachment [the party] will always give support to those who are not afraid of entering conflicts with the old and the outdated; it will help to clear the way for the upswing of new ideas and for progressive deeds. We need Communists and nonmembers of the party who do not duck responsibility, do not engage in opportunistic debates and do not whimper and lean on the crutches of a scaled-down plan, for which they beseech higher bodies so they can slough off the consequences of a possible failure. We need straightforward and fearless people, fighters in the most beautiful sense of the word. What is the use of "revolutionaries" with polished manners and polite, good-natured behavior who are incapable of putting the screws on loafers and smartguys that violate discipline and order, undermine the efforts of the whole and damage the party's prestige? What should we think in this connection of leading economic cadres who do not want to set out into the maelstorm of workshops or construction sites under the blue sky for fear that they might, God forbid, soil their suit or shoes with mud? Where else should they seek support for their endeavor to ensure a smooth operation of the workplaces? And where else will they always find out about the real state of affairs?

We do not need any cautious cringers afraid of making enemies who are full of mellifluous words about discipline and order but who, when it comes to taking action, do nothing. We need disciplined comrades who never make their peace with wrongdoings, who expose and eliminate them and thereby also pave the way ahead, lead and inspire others by their own example.

It is a merciless law which everyone must constantly bear in mind that discipline and order are the cornerstones of a successful construction of the socialist state, of the prosperity of our common home.

And this is what we now need in our country most of all.

We need discipline and order, we need exemplary discipline from top to the bottom and from the bottom to the top. Whenever, no matter where, discipline and order begin to weaken, the work ethic inevitably declines. And that erodes like rust the hard-won, good results of our work. Let us learn to be good guards of our joint work, let us learn to be its adamant protectors and guardians. It is going to be a great plus for us.

NEED FOR POSITIVE REACTION TO CSCE DRAFT

LD171048 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Since yesterday the revised draft of a final document for the CSCE conference proposed by eight neutral or nonaligned states has been the main topic of conversation in the Madrid congress palace. Guenter Leuschner reports from the Spanish capital on whether the attitude of other participating countries can be gauged from initial reactions:

[Leuschner] A diplomat from a neutral country recently quoted Prince Metternich, who once said that every conference is decided in the last 10 minutes. He added: The last 10 minutes of the Madrid conference have begun. Of course, we must not take the 10-minute idea too literally, but it is quite clear that with the new proposal by the neutral and nonaligned states the final stage of the negotiations has begun. Anyone who would now propose a new list of demands or raise old ones that have already been dealt with, anyone who would approach this proposal in a petty-minded way would in all probability destroy the chance of agreement. That does not mean that the authors of the revised draft for a final document regard it as something that the other participants have to accept, so to speak, unseen with every comma and period. There will probably still be discussions on this and that. There will undoubtedly also be objections, misgivings, or questions from the socialist side, too. Only now such discussions must take place with the aim of reaching an agreement acceptable to all. The authors say this should be done by the end of April. Allowing for at least a 14-day Easter break, not much time is left.

Precisely because of this decisive situation the draft will be examined particularly carefully in the capital cities of the participating countries. And so long as that is taking place, the diplomats are very restrained with their statements. It may, however, be assumed that the socialist countries have a very high regard for the efforts of the neutral countries to produce agreement. The draft now proposed can in our view, too, be the starting point for a solution to the questions that still remain open. It could achieve the break through if all participants are of good will and realistic.

The socialist countries will in any case strive in a constructive spirit for a solution even in those points where they have misgivings or objections. In these final 10 minutes of the conference they will also do nothing that could destroy the chance of the Madrid conference contributing to stabilizing the situation in Europe. From us there will be neither final conditions nor attempts at blackmail, but the socialist states will not let themselves be blackmailed by others, either.

It will certainly be disastrous if there are such attempts from the other side, even at this stage of the conference. And it will certainly be just as disastrous if the NATO states underestimate how serious the neutral states are in their constantly repeated note that this is the final attempt to come to a successful conclusion to the Madrid conference.

If, then, the minister of state for the FRG Foreign Affairs Ministry has now announced in a newspaper interview that the proposal by the neutral countries will be examined in a constructive spirit, then that certainly causes satisfaction in Madrid conference circles. If, however, he, at the same time, warns against hollow compromise formulas and regrets that anti-Soviet elements are absent from the draft, then one naturally asks oneself what such words are supposed to mean, whether it is possible that a reaction is hinted at which would amount to the deliberate destruction of extremely tortuous work lasting almost 3 years.

Never before in the history of this conference has so much -- has everything -- depended on the responsibility of the European governments. Everyone must be clear on that point.

HONECKER MEETS WITH MSZMP'S ACZEL 10 MARCH

LD110429 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1245 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Berlin, 10 Mar (ADN) -- The SED attributes fundamental importance to the steady consolidation of unity and cooperation in the socialist community. This was stated by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, on Thursday in a discussion with Gyorgy Aczel, Politburo member of the MSZMP Central Committee. The peoples and states of the community are able, in close alliance, to further increase the international influence of socialism, which is of great importance for the struggle to secure peace.

In their Prague declaration, the states of the Warsaw Pact have constructively shown how progress can be achieved in limiting and reducing arms, particularly in the nuclear field. This realistic approach to problems of war and peace, which takes into consideration the interests of all sides, is meeting with wider and wider approval in the international arena.

By expanding their cooperation, the GDR and Hungary and their leading parties are making an important contribution to strengthening the forces of socialism and peace, said Honecker.

FDGB CHAIRMAN TISCH ADDRESSES TRADE UNIONISTS

LD141632 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 14 Mar 83

[Text] The 9 million trade unionists in the GDR were urged today by the FDGB National Executive Committee to work for the fulfillment of the plan targets in Karl Marx Year by way of imaginative new initiatives. At its meeting in Berlin, FDGB Chairman Harry Tisch stressed that this would be a convincing commitment to the party of the working class and GDR Government [words indistinct]. Of decisive importance for the GDR's successful advance are increasing labor productivity, lower expenditure and costs, and higher product quality. The recently defined competition decisions were based on the realization that the development of socialist society is based performance and, above all, on people's activity (?in society). In order to accelerate the rationalization of entire production series, full use must be made of abilities, talents, and workers' knowledge and skill. Referring to differences in standards that are casually related to management problems, the FDGB chairman said that we should fight consistently and persistently against mediocrity. It is necessary to have a competition atmosphere in which people strive to fulfill ambitious yet achievable goals. Parallel to this, attention should always be paid to improving working conditions within the scope of possibility.

Given the diversity of trade union representation, Harry Tisch said, political-ideological work occupies a central position. Every trade unionist needs a firm class standpoint, understanding of the correlations of international politics, and of all anifestations of [words indistinct]. The trade unions should respond quickly to all outstanding issues and proposals and, where necessary, bring about changes.

BRIEFS

ANGOLAN TRADE PROTOCOL -- GDR Foreign Minister Horst Soelle and his Angolan counterpart, Ismael Gaspar Martins, today signed a protocol in Leipzig at the fourth meeting of the subcommittee for foreign trade, scientific-technological cooperation, and finance of the two states' joint economic committee. GDR and Angolan foreign trade enterprises also signed agreements on the export of consumer goods. [Excerpts] [East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 16 Mar 83 LD]

JOURNAL VIEWS PARTY CONTROL, ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

LD152355 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 15 Mar 83

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI) -- "Recent years have again proved the main line of the HSWP's policy to be justified, that is, the party is able to correctly assess realities even under more difficult circumstances. Such correct assessment is proved by the ability of renewal, which expresses the wish and capacity to adjust to changing circumstances," reads the leader, "Experiences of the Implementation of Our Policy", in the March issue of PARTELET, the HSWP political periodical. The leader analyses the relations of policy and economy, party control and economic management and issues on the continuation of reform.

Referring to extreme assessments, it rejects concepts which disregard "pressing daily duties", as well as those which "lose themselves in daily activity" and do not think of prospects which involve the reassessment of forms and mechanisms of social and economic management. "We primarily have problems in the economic sphere, which are not mere economic problems in the narrow sense," reads the leader. "Although it is the easiest to interpret them economically, they are closely connected with the political sphere both in consequence and in handling. Our achievements, and our overcoming of difficulties are also due to the favourable conditions for a great number of important economic steps, which were taken in a spirit of initiative and openness of policy. Without the encouraging force of policy they could not have developed. Nevertheless, incomprehension, indifference and conservative conditioning sometimes delayed the implementation of genuine concepts." As for the relations of policy and economy "the voluntarist conception that says political will can repeal economic rules when desired, is far from the HSWP. The HSWP takes economic rules into consideration when controlling economic processes."

The leader compares the effect of the economic reform introduced 15 years ago to the socialist reorganization of agriculture. "Under the present circumstances, the HSWP is making increased efforts to develop the conditions of modern economy...working out an up-to-date industrial political concept is under way. The elaboration or implementation of several measures in price and income policy, in credit policy and financial relations, which are based on production and the financial relations of socialism to a greater extent, are in process. Work aimed at the further improvement of economic management and the continuation of the reform are also under way."

PARTELET states that the HSWP "calculates not only steps that can be made under the existing circumstances, but it also undertakes to take initiatives for fundamental reforms, wherever necessary.

"Therefore, it is obvious that the role and responsibility of political factors in the improvement of economic processes is not decreasing at the present state of development, but the real question is the interpretation of this role. Political organizations can only meet this aim if they do not take over the responsibility of other organizations.

The fundamental condition of efficient economy is that a political system should be able to react in due time and consciousness to changes and to control and co-ordinate social action under a well thought out conception." The party must be open both towards the experiences of the masses and the considered conclusions of theoretical studies. In this context the leader states: "Life primarily demands the further strengthening of the party's ability to react to social processes and to accelerate the process of decision-making. The work of central organizations has to be a higher standard and the political character of party control further increased. It would be justified to clarify the 'profile' of certain elements of the political system; movement organization should not work with administrative and authoritative methods and authorities have to enforce legal measures."

In conclusion the leader stresses that "the strengthening of the political character of party control is closely linked with party democracy. It is considered necessary to extend the scope of analysis and decision-making process over a larger circle of party members. It is also necessary to improve decision-making mechanism within the party... and internal party life should be enlivened. We have to make an effort to solve our problems by the mobilization of the whole party membership and with wide-ranging social contribution.

MSZMP DELEGATION RETURNS FROM MOSCOW 16 MARCH

LD161428 Budapest MTI in English 1025 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI) -- Gyorgy Aczel and Miklos Ovari, members of the HSWP Political Committee and secretaries of the Central Committee, and Peter Varkonyi, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, have returned from Moscow Tuesday after having attended the meeting of the secretaries of the Central Committees of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries. The HSWP delegation at the meeting also included Erno Lakatos, head of department of the HSWP CC, Janos Barabas and Andras Knopp, deputy heads of departments of the HSWP CC, and Tibor Halay, deputy-director of the Institute for Social Sciences.

ISRAELI PEACE MOVEMENT DELEGATION VISITS

LD161428 Budapest MTI in English 1019 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI) -- A seven-member delegation of the Tel Aviv-based International Centre for Peace in the Middle East, headed by Director Dr Ayre Ya'ari, paid a visit to Hungary from March 9 to 16 on the invitation of the Hungarian National Peace Council. The delegation included also several members of the "Peace Now" movement, which has recently organized the greatest ever anti-war demonstration in Israel.

The delegation met Dr Imre Pozsgay, secretary-general of the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front, Ferenc Fabian, deputy secretary-general of the Hungarian Journalists' Union, and Dr Mihaly Simai, deputy director of the research institute for world economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, representatives of the interinstitutional peace research centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and leaders of the Central Board of Hungarian Jews.

The Israeli peace delegation held talks with representatives of the Hungarian National Peace Council, headed by President Mrs Nandor Sebestyen. The two delegations held sincere talks on the just settlement of the Middle East situation, the further development of the relations of the Israeli and Hungarian peace movements and the ways of supporting the international peace movement.

The representatives of the Israeli peace movement Tuesday held a press conference before ending their visit to Hungary. At the press conference they expressed their firm belief in talks as the only way to settle the conflicts of the Middle East. However, the present Israel Government blocs the way of the development of the peace movement. The Tel Aviv-based international peace research institute considers its main task to rally the Israeli population to vote in the next election for forces that pursue a more realistic policy. Replying to a question Dr Arye Ya'ari said that the Soviet Union must be drawn into the Middle East settlement process, as a lasting peace cannot be reached without the participation of that great power.

The Israeli delegation is to leave Hungary on Wednesday.

REAGAN PRESSURED ON DISARMAMENT STANCE

LD161258 Warsaw PAP in English 1114 GMT 16 Mar 83

[By "PAP commentator"]

[Text] Warsaw 15 March -- The growing pressure on President Reagan to change or at least to make more flexible his stand on the Geneva negotiations on halting the rocket and nuclear armaments in Europe, exerted by political circles in the U.S. and Western Europe alike, is one of the most interesting and important political problems of the days and weeks to come. These pressures become ever stronger and have already turned into an important political phenomenon dominating the international forum.

In the U.S., the Democrats in the Senate and the House of Representatives demand more flexible stand and a more constructive policy from the administration. In Western Europe, the pressures on the Washington administration take the form of a massive political campaign waged out by individual governments.

The pressures are being exerted from all sides and it is certain that it will be difficult for Reagan to maintain his hitherto uncompromising position ruling out any accord and stopping the arms race in Europe.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI ON CIA ACTIVITY IN W. EUROPE

LD162243 Warsaw PAP in English 1452 GMT 16 Mar 83

["Mobsters of Langley" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw 17 March -- "C.I.A. (Central Intelligence Agency) activity in Western Europe, as well as in other regions of the world has intensified during the presidency of Ronald Reagan," said the Polish Army newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today in an article under the above headline.

"The American military industrial complex has increased activity to gain hegemony over the world by intensifying its fight against communism and social progress in general as well as its struggle against the anti-armaments movement which is growing in the West.

"Therefore this movement, which runs counter to the Washington course set on military build-up and confrontation, has recently become an object of special subversive interests of both the C.I.A. and other imperialist special services.

"It should be expected that particular cells of this movement can soon be threatened with an organized campaign accompanied by downright gangster insinuations and provocations," said ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

DAILY ATTACKS WESTERN MEDIA WHO DISTORT FACTS

AU161412 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Mar 83 p 2

[Commentary signed "Observator": "Guardians of Freedom and Truth"]

[Text] Were it not for the need to observe principles of good upbringing, one ought to describe most of the Western press correspondents romping around Poland and their superiors sitting in editorial offices in terms which are not too polite. Since it is unbecoming to use such terms, let us try to describe the activity of these fantastic warriors of democracy...in Poland.

Reading in the Western press the reports sent out by the ladies and gentlemen accredited in Poland and articles written in London, Paris, New York, Cologne, Bonn, and other capitals, one cannot escape the impression that the authors of these articles are being manipulated in a wonderful way. They all write the same way. One hardly comes across any variations at all. One sees a clear lack of individuality. One fails to see any personal style. These authors are quite simply like a detachment of soldiers, all having the same haircuts and marching in step. There is no wavering from the line of march and no looking to the side. They observe excellent discipline. We did not observe such discipline even during martial law.

What keeps our guests going is the process whereby they steadily convince their readers that the situation in Poland is bad and will probably get worse. This is the guiding thought behind most reports. Since it is assumed that the situation in Poland is bad, then it is justifiable to silence any facts which contradict this fact. If faith means having to tell lies or blow up rubbish to astronomical proportions, then these relentless advocates of journalistic independence willingly do so -- after all they act not according to their conscience but according to certain principles. The following is the picture of Poland that emerges from what they write almost every day: The Polish nation is united in its struggle against the "military junta"; the entire nation pines for Solidarity; Lech Walesa is unquestionably the leader of the Polish workers; the underground is reveling; and the underground press, consisting of pieces of paper often written by one person, runs into hundreds of titles; Jaruzelski has rejected a course of renewal; the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is a facade; the "junta" is scheming all it can to prevent the pope's visit to Poland; neo-Stalinist elements have gained control over the party; the regime has suffered a total setback with the new trade unions; the "junta" wants to strangle the church; a wave of trials against the brave warriors of Solidarity is inundating the whole country; further arrests are being planned; staunch extremists like Walentynowicz are real national heroes; the economic situation is deteriorating from one month to the next; economic reform is dying; Moscow controls everyone ane everything; Jaruzelski has embarked on a holy war against intellectuals, artists, writers; etc.

In a word, it is not only bad, but very bad. A reader in the United States or Western Europe should gain the impression that Poland, a country in the heart of Europe, is like an active volcano.

For the sake of what interests is the detachment of soldiers playing this game? There must be many of these interests. It is a pity that nothing has become of the hopes the capitalist world pinned to Solidarity and the KOR [Social Self-Defence Commitee] and KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] men running around within it. It is difficult to suppress the rage felt because the "military junta" surprised the leaders of the counterrevolution and their superiors, as well as the naive belief that in the end the Polish nation will realize the situation is bad and getting worse and will rise against the communists.... What wonderful reports one could write about brave warriors hurling themselves against tanks and about the patriotism of the Poles.

Are we exaggerating? No, we are not, because the ladies and gentlemen who only write about our country in dark colors know very well that almost everything they write returns to Poland via Free Europe. Our guests play a part in the activity of this subversive radio station, and not a small part.

Keeping to the assumption mentioned at the beginning, the people who serve the Western media are blind and deaf to all the phenomena which show that stabilization is progressing and that implementation of the program of the Ninth PZPR Congress is also progressing, though laboriously. They quite simply fail to see the structure of reform, which is rising under exceptionally difficult conditions. It must no be seen, because the purpose is not to convey any news that something interesting and good is happening in Poland. Besides, who would believe them?

official sources only interest these people when it is possible to question these sources. Since August 1980, the constant sources of information for these correspondents have been people belonging to opposition circles. The correspondents in Poland obtain news on the situation in Poland from these people, and they send their colleagues coming to stay in Poland for 1 or 2 weeks to them as well. This is a well-known journalistic custom and one which is commonly practised. In the end a reader in France, England, or anywhere else is fed with information on Poland from one and the same source.

We assume this commentary will be read not only by our own readers but by those whom we have made the heroes of this commentary. We ask them to stop shouting things like: "A government paper has attacked Western press correspondents", or "The Jaruzelski regime has taken a further step toward overpowering representatives of freedom of speech". But they will continue to shout one thing and the other. You can write what you want, whatever comes to your lips. You have become the heroes of this commentary only because we wanted to give Polish public opinion food for thought about what so-called impartiality of the free press means in practice.

JABLONSKI RECEIVES UN'S WYZNER, LEWANDOWSKI

LD170453 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, has received Deputy UN Secretary General Eugeniusz Wyzner. The chairman of the Council of State also received today former deputy UN Secretary General Bohdan Lewandowski.

GLEMP RETURNS FROM TRIP TO ROME 16 MARCH

LD161554 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Primate of Poland Cardinal Jozef Glemp returned to Warsaw from Rome early this afternoon. The primate was welcomed at the airport by Minister Adam Lopatka, head of the office for religious affairs; members of the Episcopate were also present. During a brief press conference Primate Jozef Glemp said that the detailed program for the Polish visit of Pope John Paul II will be officially announced within the next few days.

MO ARRESTS GDANSK DEMONSTRATION ORGANIZERS

LD161825 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] The security service of the Citizens Militia [MO] Gdansk Voivodship Command has discovered and detained a group who were urging people to take part in an illegal demonstration at the Gdansk shipyard workers' monument 13-14 March this year. Several hundred pamphlets were seized when those detained were stopped. The pamphlets were prepared for distribution and signed with the overprint "Wiktoria." They urged people to take part in these demonstrations and contained false and inflammatory information designed to provoke public unrest. The prosecutor has applied for temporary arrest of the main organizer, W.B.

MALINOWSKI CHAIRS MEETING OF ZSL CHAIRMEN

LD170511 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] The draft 3-year plan and the accompanying programs have been the main subjects of a session of the ZSL voivodship committee chairmen. During the session, which was chaired by Roman Malinowski, it was stressed that the key issue in achieving the goal that had been set and in further developing the country is to improve management effectiveness through improved organization, an increase in productivity, and full exploitation of the production capacity of the whole economy and by reducing the losses and wastage of raw and other materials.

The need for consistent implementation of the principles of the economic reform and for changes in the structure of industrial production and investment policy was mentioned.

During the session a good deal of attention was also devoted to farming and the food economy with emphasis on the need to improve the internal agricultural price structure to benefit cereals and fodder and the need for a consistent application of the principle of the equality of all sectors of agriculture.

RAKOWSKI ADDRESSES MANAGERIAL CADRES' MEETING

LD17050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] A meeting of managerial cadres from 300 large industrial enterprises took place at the Council of Ministers. The aim of the meeting, attended by members of the Government Presidium and ministers from economic departments, was to discuss current economic problems of the country and economic strategy as defined in the draft 3-year plan and in the anti-inflationary and saving program.

The meeting was attended by Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. In the discussion particular attention was drawn to the problems of introducing the economic reform, and its modified principles. Questions concerning raw material limits and cooperative difficulties are being brought to the forefront. The need to create proper motivation systems and to combine increased incomes with a real increase in managerial effectiveness was stressed. Directors of enterprises have pointed out the widening of the formal strata of economic reform and the great number of executive and legislative acts. [sentence as heard]

The meeting, which was chaired by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda, was also attended by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. He discussed the main aspects of the political and social situation in the country, including the influence of economic results on the situation, particularly on the standard of living and material living conditions.

INDUSTRIAL PLANTS FACING SHORTAGE OF WORKERS

LD162320 Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Excerpts] Warsaw 16 March -- Many big industrial plants in Poland are facing shortage of manpower, with special reference to skilled labour. The number of people employed in socialized industry last year dropped by 243 thousand, or 5.2 per cent, as compared with 1981, and totalled 4,473 thousand people. According to data released by the Ministry of Labour, Wages and Social Welfare, a drop in the number of employees in 1982 was recorded in all branches of industry with the exception of the power and mining industries.

The development seems to have taken most factory managers by surprise, though the estimate [word indistinct] in the central socio-economic plan for 1982 forecast a drop in employment figures some 73 thousand higher than the one actually recorded. The great number of free work posts on the labour market in Poland last year made it difficult to transfer labour to the industrial plants and branches where underemployment had objective causes. On the other hand, the big demand for work force allowed alumni to seek employment in tune with their training and aspirations. It will be one of the basic tasks in employment policy in near future to keep up this trend alongside warrants to secure priority to those sections of the economy which experience the most acute work force shortage.

PAP REPORTS GROWTH IN UNION MEMBERSHIP

LD161454 Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Warsaw 15 March -- Trade union organizations have been established in all coal mines and steelworks in Poland. They have become mass organizations in some factories. In those branches where the number of trade unions is relatively high, there is an interest in setting up higher-level coordinating bodies. The question was raised at the meeting of representatives of trade unions from coal mines and related works held in Jaworzno recently. A similar meeting of unionists from railway repair works, hosted by the Trade Union of Railway Workers from the Bydgoszcz rolling stock repair works, has come out for setting up a trade union representation of the entire branch. The meeting addressed a postulate to the Social Consultative Committee at the Council of State on the need of setting up a trade union council in their branch.

In Bialystok Voivodship, some 40,000 employees have joined about 150 new trade unions. Twenty per cent of workers from the big lorry factory FSC of Lublin are trade union members.

A clear animation of trade union activity has been reported from the biggest factory of Rzeszow Voivodship, the PZL transport equipment works of Mielec. Despite the initial very limited interest in new unions there, the factory trade union now affiliates some 2,000 members, i.e. some 10 percent of all employees.

PAP INTERVIEWS PROFESSOR ON OIL, COAL PRICES

LD162303 Warsaw PAP in English 1517 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Warsaw, 16 March -- Commenting on the possible upturn in the world business following the drop in oil prices, assistant professor Jacek Dembowski of the Institute of Economic Business and Market Research told a PAP reporter:

"The dip in world oil prices will not have any immediate impact on Poland's economy as, due to the foreign exchange shortage, we have drastically cut imports from the dollar area. Poland buys oil from the Soviet Union at a price which is an average from the past five years, a scheme which protected the importer at times of sharp rise in oil costs. Under this system, the oil price paid by Poland till 1985 will be going up to show a little decline [as received] in the years 1986-1987, and to catch up with the world prices in the subsequent years, provided there is not any sharp rise in the world oil price in the meantime. The situation on the world oil market should not seriously influence the world's price of coal. The price of Polish coal will be determined rather by the [passage indistinct].

SZTANDAR MLODYCH ON YOUNG PEOPLE IN PRON

AU161512 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 14 Mar 83 p 3

[Andrzej Roginski interview with Jacek Zdrojewski, secretary of the Warsaw Provisional Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth: "Young People in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] is accused of being a movement for old age pensioners. Why does it have so few young people?

[Answer] This accusation is unjust in that there are many professionally active people working in the movement's cells.

We have, on the other hand, received many individual applications during the last few weeks. A considerable percentage of these have been from young people. We must remember that these are people who are struggling with the difficulties of starting a fmaily and striving for promotion at work. They do not have a lot of time for social work, and if they do commit themselves, then they want to be sure that they will not lose the rest of their spare time. The struggle to attract young people to the movement hinges on our explaining the political and ideological reasons behind this movement, as well as inspiring the belief that it will be a socially effective one. So, in order for the younger generation to support the movement, we must thoroughly discuss the role, function, and potential of the movement, as well as of the young, in social life and political structures. The movement itself should also guarantee that it will represent this generation's way of looking at reality, the hierarchy of values and appraisal of sociopolitical phenomena. And this is our position.

[Question] But young people approach the movement in different ways, after all.

[Answer] There are currently four different views of our movement about. First, the belief that the movement was set up by the authorities, is controlled by them, and is therefore a false show. This is the opinion of the political opponents of socialist Poland and of those who do not want to listen to our assumptions, let alone our dicussions. Second, the belief that we are a group of honest and politically naive people who will in the end be manipulated by the authorities. We will endeavor to convert those who believe this to be our way of thinking. The third viewpoint is a result of indifference and indecisiveness, as well as of a still unformed opinion or appriasal of events in Poland. There are also those who have become disillusioned with social work and the point of doing it, although they were very good workers and did much for others before 13 December 1981. They are our potential allies. And finally, the fourth category of people, those who have recognized our movement as an integral part of the positive transformation. Despite the social myth created by the leadership of Solidarity which divided us into society as such and into very few representatives of the power apparatus, there is a preponderance of people who support the route advocated by the movement in its declaration and in other documents.

[Question] A week ago the Warsaw provisional council of the movement was in session....

[Answer] We discussed and adopted a draft program of activities, as well as assumptions for a precongress campaign in Warsaw and the Warsaw Voivodship. Both these documents will, no doubt, be presented for social appraisal. We are most concerned that the discussion involves all professional circles and social groups. We cannot, of course, make do without the opinions and views of young people.

[Question] We are constantly talking about young people, but how old is the secretary of the movement's council?

[Answer] Thirty three.

[Question] You have been listening to the views of the residents of the entire voivodship. What is most important to them?

[Answer] The chief topic of discussion is the way in which our principles of social justice work. Some people's statements reflected problems: the need to shape civic standards; protect the economic interests of an average family; improve the standards of living and housing for the people of Warsaw; promote the influence of self-management bodies on office versus citizen relations; and increase the possibilities representative bodies have to govern towns, rural parishes, and housing settlements.

NEWS CONFERENCE REPORTS ON STATE OF PUBLIC ORDER

LD151523 Warsaw PAP in English 1413 GMT 15 Mar 83

[Text] Warsaw 15 March -- The state of public order, war on crime in 1982 and in January and February 1983, counteraction against criminal mechanisms which disorganize the market and laws on social ills are the issues raised at a news conference organized by the Government Press Office here yesterday.

Information on those issues was provided by participants in a Government Presidium meeting held simultaneously, including militia's commander-in-chief General Jozef Beim, Minister of Justice Sylwester Zawadzki and Chairman of the Main Anti-profiteering Commission and General Director of the Prime Minister's Office General Marian Ryba.

According to militia headquarters, downward trends were recorded in many categories of crime in 1982 and in the first two months of this year. Total extent of crime last year is reflected by the number of some 355 thousand instituted investigations and inquiries, which is similar to the 1981-level. The number of criminal offences went down by 1.7 per cent. The number of detected economic offences rose by over 30 per cent.

One of the significant elements of combating abuse of authority will be to set principles of control of the state administration. A document expected to unify the whole system of control is being prepared, General Ryba said.

TRYBUNA LUDU: 7,890 NEW TRADE UNIONS REGISTERED

AU151240 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12/13 Mar 83 p 2

[PAP report: "How the Registration of Trade Unions and Agricultural Organizations Is Proceeding"]

[Text] The Ministry of Justice has reviewed the rulings made by courts up to now in registering trade unions and farmers' social-professional organizations.

According to data made available to a PAP reporter, a total of 9,278 applications to register factory union organizations have reached voivodship courts up to 10 March. Of course, the number of applications coming in varies from day to day, but it fluctuates between 70 and 130 applications daily. The greatest number of applications has reached the following voivodship courts: Katowice (785 applications); Poznan (340); Warsaw (428); Opole (408); and Szczecin (386). The smallest number of applications has been noted in the following voivodship courts: Krosno (51); Tarnow (51); Skierniewice (55); Lomza (61); and Zamosc (70). In the remaining courts, the number of applications varies between 75 and 331.

Courts examined 7,996 applications up to 10 March. They registered 7,890 factory union organizations and rejected 65 applications. The following voivodship courts registered the largest number of factory union organizations: Katowice (724); Poznan (414); Warsaw (360); Opole (353); and Szczecin (311). The least number of organizations was registered in the following courts: Krosno (46); Tarnow (46); Zamosc (50); and Lomza (58).

So far, two cases have been noted where one factory has made two simultaneous applications to register a factory trade union organization. This was noted in the voivodship courts of Legnica and Sieradz. In Legnica, efforts to make the founding committees file a joint application were successful; however, in Sieradz the court refused registration because no agreement could be reached.

Reasons for Rejection

As mentioned above, courts have rejected 65 applications to register factory trade union organizations. These rejections were made by the following courts: Czestochowa (21 rejections); Katowice (6); Warsaw (4); Slupsk (4); Elblag (3); Lublin (2); Opole (2); and one in each of the following courts: Ciechanow, Kielce, Ostroleka, Sieradz and Wroclaw.

The following are the reasons for the rejections: the filing of an application by a person not entitled to do so (for example, directors); a refusal to alter a statute's contents which in the court's opinion are not in accordance with the law (usually involving political issues); a failure to reach agreement in the case of one factory filing two applications; and applications from private traders running catering establishments [ajenci] to establish their own trade union. In this latter case an appeal has been made to the Supreme Court.

The Ministry of Justice has determined that courts have been registering factory trade union organizations efficiently and correctly. This is evidenced by the constant growth in the number of applications that has been dealt with compared to the number of applications that has reached the courts. These positive results are no doubt because courts have organized their work correctly and because cooperation between courts and the trade union organizations involved has improved. An important role is also played by the Social Consultative Commission, whose purpose is to explain any uncertainties and provide legal instruction for the new trade unions. The applications which are reaching the courts are being prepared better and better and they contain all the enclosures necessary for registration. This makes it generally possible to deal with them quickly.

Over 10,000 Farmers Have Associated Themselves

As far as the registration of farmers' social-professional organizations is concerned, courts registered 9,063 agricultural circles and 1,227 unions of agricultural circles and organizations up to the end of last year.

One should note, however, that different legal regulations apply to these organizations compared to trade unions. After all, up to May 1981, agricultural circles and their unions were active according to the 1932 Law on Associations, which foresaw the registration of these organizations by the administration. The law on 6 May 1981 made the voivodship courts responsible for registering agricultural circles and unions of agricultural circles and organizations in rural parishes. This change in the registration procedure was the result of the fact that the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations, and also some circles, incorporated in their statutes not only economic tasks, but also the functions of private farmers' trade unions. As a result, besides private farmers' trade unions, two kinds of agricultural circles have been active as of May 1981. The one kind concentrated exclusively on economic service and the other combined this economic service with trade union tasks. This distinction is reflected in the registration procedure. The newly-created circles and those which have amended their statutes have applied for registration by a court.

The remaining agricultural circles which existed in May 1981 have either applied to the courts for registration or are attaining their registered status with state administrative bodies.

The next change occurred when the law on farmers' socioprofessional organizations was introduced on 6 October 1982. By the terms of this law, the courts became the registering bodies of all agricultural organizations with the exception of rural housewives' circles.

At the same time, it was resolved that those agricultural circles, branch agricultural associations, unions of agricultural circles, and organizations and unions of agricultural branch associations active on the day the law took effect would retain their status as legal entities. They were, however, under an obligation to adapt their statutes to the requirements posed by the law and to apply for registration not later than 1 year from the date the law took effect, in other words up to 11 October 1983. This means that all organizations active on the day when the law on farmers' socioprofessional organizations became valid are still functioning.

So far, the greatest number of circles has been registered in the following voivodships: Bialystok (716); Lomza (642); Kielce (593); and Szczecin (530). The least number of unions of agricultural circles and organizations has been registered in the following voivodships: Radom (117); Kielce (66); Opole (61); and Katowice (59). So far, no circles and no agricultural organizations have been registered in the Biala Podlaska, Jelenia Gora, Przemysl, Tarnobrzeg, and Wroclaw Voivodships.

Difficulties Faced By Courts

One should add that courts have experienced serious difficulties in examining applications for registration caused by current legislation and by a multitude of various kinds of legal situations and practical circumstances not to mention a lack of necessary cooperation on the part of the bodies involved. This has resulted in incomplete applications being sent to courts, a failure to make the appropriate amendments to a statute, etc.

DAILY COMMENTS ON TRADE UNION LAW, ROLE

AU141800 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 83 p 1

[Anna Pawlowska commentary: "Union Opinion"]

[Text] The Sejm Law on Trade Unions which was passed in October 1982 has a chapter on trade unions' rights which gives priority to the right of assessing draft laws and the measures taken by the state, local, and economic authorities concerning the affairs of working people and their families.

A special article in this chapter obliges administrative bodies to create the proper conditions to enable trade unions to exercise this right, while another defines the procedure to be followed by both the unions and the administration. The Sejm law which was prepared for many months with the participation of trade unions was sanctioned by the Sejm, as we recall, during the suspension of all trade union activities. This law also nullified previously registered trade unions and established the principles on which new unions could be formed.

The implementation of the Sejm Law on Trade Unions, just like the implementation of many other important reform acts, has coincided with different economic, political, and psychological conditions, and in the case of trade unions, with difficult organizational ones. Work forces set up several thousands of their own unions which, for the moment, have no structures above factory level (but these will undoubtedly be formed gradually for some time to come in various professions and in various degrees of internal integration). Unions are now taking full advantage of their rights concerning internal enterprise affairs and it is in this framework that they are gaining their first experiences. The extension of this framework to facilitate the fulfillment of the duty to consult union opinion in the country on the decisions prepared by representative or administrative bodies is served by the decision adopted by the Council of Ministers a few days ago on the extent and mode of consultations with trade unions.

This decision gives the administration the task of publishing drafts which have been submitted for union appraisal, of gathering opinions and conclusions and of organizing meetings with trade unionists for this purpose, particularly with those who offer proposals which differ from those of the administration. The first subjects for consultation are to be determined together with union representatives by the end of March. The government aims to consult union opinion on such matters as housing construction, the system of employing young people, canteen feeding, and vacations. Similar lists of topics are to be prepared by ministers in relation to the enterprises within their ministries.

There is, therefore, a chance for the unions to take the next step toward fully assuming the rights that the Sejm law has granted them. And like every chance, it demands an active pursuit in order for it not to remain an unexploited possibility. Let us not deceive ourselves that the entire administration is only dreaming of being hindered in its decisionmaking by work force representatives. This is not so and will never be so, just as there is never a lack of the kind of administration representatives who value social consultation very highly...on the condition that it confirm their viewpoints and intentions. We would also be mistaken if we neglected the fact that various administrative bodies have, after all, grown used to functioning without paying heed to the social factor for many years.

What then must we do in order not to waste this present chance for trade unions to have an influence on important social decisions? It is, above all, necessary to create an atmosphere of willingness to take advantage of this chance within union organizations, and to inspire as many trade unionists as possible with the conviction that it is genuinely worth taking part in these consultations, that it, worth considering the subject and expressing one's honest opinion. I put this in first place as I am aware of at least two circumstances that there are first, always those who doubt the sincerity of the authorities' intentions and doubt their own influence on the authorities' measures and second, that feelings of mistrust are energetically aggravated by political opponents.

Next, the administration should carry out real consultations so that the problem being examined is presented clearly and is understandable to all those who are expected to voice their opinions. It should be furnished with any necessary additional details and it should contain alternative proposals together with their determinants. For we may now be threatened with return to the practices known to us in the past when working people were given documents "for consultation" which demanded specialized economic or technical training although they did not contain any explanation.

We need to consciously strive toward the representative feature of consultation. A union which is consulted on an important subject must do more than just rely on the reply given by its main administration. It would be difficult, in many plants, to gather the opinions of a whole work force of even an entire trade union organization; however, it is precisely the duty of this organization and its main administration to sound out as many people as possible in order for the total number of answers to contain as broad a cross section of work-force opinion as possible concerning data on professions, age, pay, etc.

This will undoubtedly be difficult to implement. No one can. or has the right, to do trade unionists' work for them; however, everyone at the plant can and should help them in this, at least at the beginning -- that is, the cadres and the associations of the chief technical organization. That means the party as well. The defense of union rights is, however, one of the most fundamental classbound duties of the party. Party organizations and cells must, therefore, watch out that the administration does not attempt to make these union consultations "easier" for itself and that every trade unionist party member makes an active and intelligent contribution to them, as he should be responsible for this to his primary organization. Lenin once called trade unions a school of governing. Here we are embarking on the study of a new subject: the opinions held by working people on the authorities' intentions as a practical feature of democracy.

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING

AU151941 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1852 GMT 15 Mar 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/3/1983 -- On March 15 a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP was held under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, in Bucharest.

During the meeting the Executive Political Committee looked into the report on the use of machines, equipment and installations in industry, constructions and transports in 1982.

According to the reported data the index of utilization stipulated in the single national plan went up with certain groups of basic machine-tools for metal processing, principal pieces of equipment and technological installations as well as in many enterprises. At the same time this important index is superior to that succeeded in industry on the average, in 23 countries and in the Bucharest municipality.

The Executive Political Committee asked all responsible factors to take firm measures for a more and more efficient use of the capacities of our national economy, for enhancement of the index of capitalization of machines, equipment and installations.

Special attention was paid to turning out the needed parts in the requested proportion, quality and variety.

In view of use of all the machines and equipment of the Romanian economy the fact was established that in the coming months the means of production and transport in stock would be turned productive.

The ministries, centrals and enterprises were asked to take action for training and specializing the needed cadres. The fact was also asked that action be taken in all productive units, with greater responsibility, for implementation of the decisions concerning partial or general repair operations in due time and quality, for observance of check-up schedules, improved maintenance of machines, in view of fulfillment of tasks under the best of circumstances.

Analysing the report on the fulfillment in 1982 of the norms of consumption with raw and auxiliary materials, fuels and electric power, and of the normatives for capitalization, the Executive Political Committee considered that there was intensified the action of reducing consumptions with materials, fuels and electric power, as well for capitalization of the reusable resources.

The Executive Political Committee advised the government to take firm immediate measures for making all productive units stay within the consumption norms and normatives for 1983, to observe the tasks concerning the higher capitalization of all resources.

Next a report was debated and approved, concerning the stocks of the main raw and auxiliary materials existing on January 1, 1982.

The stocks were noted to create premises for a rhythmical fulfillment, under good circumstances, of the production tasks planned for this year.

The Executive Political Committee asked the speciality ministries to work for an ever more efficient capitalization of the stocks in excess and a prompt re-distribution among enterprises, industrial centrals and ministries of the available redundant stocks for a better technico-material supply of the entire national economy.

Action should also be taken in all responsibility at all levels -- financially included -- for a rigorous observance of the distribution of raw and subsidiary materials, for the regimentation of the productive activity in the spirit of a maximum profitableness, in keeping with the resolutions endorsed by the RCP national conference.

A draft decree was approved in connection with these measures.

The Executive Political Committee further debated the programme for the application of the resolutions of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party of December 16-18, 1982 regarding the work remuneration and the distribution of the incomes of the working people.

The programme aims at more firmly promoting the socialist principle of remuneration contingent upon the quanity and quality of work, as the remuneration and the incomes of those who work must reflect the contribution made to the implementation of the production plan. Nobody can be paid, can receive a guaranteed income or partake in profits if one does not produce, according to job duties.

The overall piece rate system will be the main form of work remuneration and will encompass the entire personnel of economic units; it will be expanded in enterprises, factories, works, building-sites, the sum of the remunerations due to the personnel working according to the overall piece rate system will be set in direct relation to the quantity of physical products turned out, their quality and of the production for export, the strict observance of the material consumptions. The remunerations will not have ceilings when the planned tasks are exceeded and will be diminished accordingly when the planned tasks are not carried through.

The programme sets the forms of remuneration specific to the economic and social branches or activities.

Special attention is paid to the stimulation, achievement and overfulfillment of the production for export which is to be competitive under all aspects with the best products turned out on a world plane. For the fulfillment of the provisions with the production for export greater remunerativeness and profits will be ensured. By obtaining improved foreign prices as well as from other sources, a fund will be set for the promotion of export, augmented shares will be granted for bonuses.

According to the consistent policy of the RCP of raising the working people's standard of living, the Executive Political Committee approved the passage in 1983 to another augmentation of the average nominal remunerations so that the real remunerations at the end of this action, next year, should be by 5 per cent greater than in 1980.

It was established that the programme for the application of the resolutions of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party in the domain of the work remuneration and distribution of the incomes of the working people should be submitted for approval to the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP and to public debate.

The Executive Political Committee set the convening of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP for Thursday, March 24, 1983.

During the March 15 meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, President Nicolae Ceausescu informed of the visit of friendship King Husayn of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan paid to Romania over February 17-18, 1983.

The Executive Political Committee appreciated with satisfaction that the new interview between President Nicolae Ceausescu and King Husayn occasioned fruitful talks on the evolution and prospects of the relations between the two countries and on important aspects of the present international life.

The conviction was expressed that, starting from the understandings reached by the two heads of state the ties of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation would amplify between Romania and Jordan in the political, economic, cultural, technical, scientific and other planes of mutual interest. The importance was stressed of the resolve of the two heads of state to take action for a marked improvement of these relations, particularly in the field of trade exchanges and economic cooperation in oil, chemistry, energy, mining, transports and agriculture, both through a greater participation in the projects and programmes carried out in common so far, and through new, priority projects.

The Executive Political Committee appreciated highly the exchanges of opinions between President Nicolae Ceausescu and King Husayn on major problems of the present international life, particularly on those concerning the world peace and security, the peaceful settlement of the interstate issues, the developments in the Middle East and the efforts made for attaining a global solution and a just and lasting peace in the region, the construction of security and cooperation in Europe, on the eradication of the gaps between the poor and the rich countries and the enstatement of a new international economic order, the need for a passage to urgent disarmament measures, nuclear disarmament first of all, the need for the small and medium-sized countries, for the developing countries and for the nonaligned states to play an ever greater and more efficient role in the settlement of the international problems.

The Executive Political Committee expressed satisfaction at the fact that during the talks that were held in a cordial atmosphere of full understanding and mutual respect, the two heads of state established to continue the Romanian-Jordanian summit contacts, laying stress on their importance for the continuous development of the relations between our peoples and countries, for the cause of peace, detente and collaboration on an international plane.

Appreciating unanimously the understanding reached during the Romanian-Jordanian dialogue, the Executive Political Committee set measures for implementation of the decisions adopted, for amplification and deepening of the multilateral collaboration and friendship between Romania and Jordan.

During the meeting of March 15 of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Nicolae Ceausescu, Romania's president read an account of the visit of friendship he and Elena Ceausescu paid to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, between February 24 and 26, 1983 at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The Executive Political Committee was highly appreciative of the talks conducted by Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu with Todor Zhivkov, and occasion which emphasized the ascending development of the Romanian-Bulgarian manysided collaboration which deepens and broadens continuously, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of the equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, in keeping with the 1970 Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance.

At the same time, the Executive Political Committee highlighted Romania's and Bulgaria's resolve to further act for the development and diversification of the forms of collaboration between the RCP and BCP, between Romania and Bulgaria, between the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, in the political, economic, technico-scientific and cultural domains, for the deepening of the economic collaboration and in production, for the expansion of specialization, cooperation and good exchanges, particularly in machine-building, energetics, metallurgy, the chemical industry, electrotechnology, electronics and in agriculture.

Highly assessed was also the joint wish to intensify the contacts between governments, parliaments, ministries, mass and public organizations in the two countries, which help the further consolidation of the manysided Romanian-Bulgarian relations.

The Executive Political Committee stressed the importance of the exchange of views on current questions of the international political life.

Considering that the visit by the RCP and Romanian state leader in the neighbour country goes down as an outstanding event of the international life, the Executive Political Committee emphasized with satisfaction Romania's and Bulgaria's will to collaborate ever more strongly, with the other socialist countries, with all the progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces in the struggle for the prevention of a nuclear war and the taking of efficient disarmament measures, nuclear disarmament measures first of all, the consolidation of peace, security, collaboration and detente in the European Continent, the halting of the emplacement of the American medium-range missiles in Europe for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the continent, both medium-range and tactical ones, for the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting in an as short as possible delay.

Emphasis was placed on the political significance of the reiteration by Romania and Bulgaria of their resolve to ever more actively collaborate for the development of the collaboration among all the Balkan countries, for the strengthening of confidence and good neighbourhood among them, for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace and collaboration free of nuclear weapons.

Unanimously assessing the agreements covenanted during the Romanian-Bulgarian summit dialogue, the Executive Political Committee set measures for the implementation of the adopted resolutions for the deepening and amplification of the manysided collaboration and friendship between Romania and Bulgaria.

MINING MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON COAL OUTPUT

AU161153 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Mar 83 p 1

[Interview given by Minister of Mines Ion Lazarescu to Ion Teodor in Bucharest -- date not given; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Question: Although daily coal output has continued to record a high level, it nevertheless decreased in the recently concluded week compared with the previous period. Comrade Minister, what is your opinion of the results achieved?

Answer: From the very beginning I would like to mention that THE EFFORTS MADE LAST WEEK IN ALL MINING BASINS AND ENTERPRISES AIMED AT INCREASING COAL OUTPUT HAVE ALSO BEEN INTENSIVE, AS THEY WERE 2 OR 3 WEEKS AGO. Certainly, it would have been normal for production to continue to increase. Nevertheless, there have been certain factors that influenced the level of extraction. During the first days of last week it was raining throughout the Gorj basin and consequently a number of difficulties emerged in the operation of big swing excavators, of conveyor belts and other equipment. Summing up the situation in the Motru and Rovinari combines, accidental disruptions in the operation of equipment amounted to 684 hours spent to remedy electrical-mechanical defects, 473 hours to repair broken rubber belts and 301 hours to unblock the transportation system. Continuing with the same area of activity, one must state that owing to a defect -- especially in the Motru basin -- in the technological process of unloading coal at the Isalnita thermopowerplant, the lack of mining cars was felt and this disrupted the normal progress of production in mining units to a certain extent.

Similarly, in the above-ground lignite extraction pits in the Motru basin a number of operations had to be performed in this period such as repair and extension of certain conveyor belts; these are necessary operations but not productive ones.

Question: The annexed table shows that, with the exception of the Jiu valley, the other big mining combines did not fulfill their plan last week. What is the explanation for this situation? [Editorial note: A table accompanying the interview shows that the daily average coal production in January 1983 was 130,000 tons, that it was 139,000 tons between 28 February and 6 March, and that it will be 160,000-170,000 tons throughout 1983.]

Answer: In March the coal production plan will increase 16.8 percent compared with February. And last week, being the beginning of March, not all units had been able to achieve the envisaged production level. However, the extraction rate has increased with every passing day and following the measures that have been taken we are convinced that THE PRODUCTION PLAN FOR MARCH WILL BE COMPLETELY FULFILLED.

Question: What measures are you referring to?

Answer: First and foremost I am referring to measures aimed at INCREASING THE UTILIZATION INDEX OF EQUIPMENT as a consequence of applying the increasingly better results of the continuous work schedule. Also, in February a new production capacity yielding 250,000 tons of coal per year was put into operation at the Tehomir mine within the Motru mining combine. And this production capacity will begin its production this month. At the same time, a production capacity of 2500,000 tons of coal per year, compared with 50,000 tons that were initially envisaged, has begun to be produced at level 10 under the former Jiu river bed in the Rosia-Pestenana mining enterprise. Similarly, another new production capacity of 200,000 tons of coal per year was put into operation earlier at the Rovinari mining enterprise. Other such new production capacities will be put into operation in the coming period so that we will be able to ensure the envisaged increases in production. Along this line, there exists an intensive mobilization of forces in the other branches of the national economy in order to ensure the equipment and other materials needed to put the new production capacities into operation. However, as is known, in mining it takes a long time to prepare new mining areas. This is why it is necessary to eliminate the lags recorded in ensuring certain materials and to deliver equipment in the order in which it is needed for being installed and in keeping with the deadline mutually agreed upon with the machine-building units. The miners' task is to do all they can, and it is in their power to speed up the installation of equipment and to make sustained efforts to increase the coal production.

BRIEFS

DELEGATION TO GDR -- A delegation of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry led by Ferdinand Nagy, minister secretary of state, paid a visit to the GDR for fact-finding and for an exchange of experience. A protocol was signed on the occasion concerning scientific-technical cooperation between our Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry and the GDR Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in 1983, as well as guidelines for cooperation for the period ending in 1990. A protocol was also signed on scientific-technical cooperation in 1983 between Romania's Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry and the GDR Ministry of Bezirk-administered Industry and Food Industry. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Mar 83 p 6 AU]

STAMBOLIC CHAIRS SESSION ON NONALIGNED SUMMIT

LD161606 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG) -- The SFRY Presidency held a session today chaired by Petar Stambolic.

President Stambolic presented the first report on the participation of the Yugoslav delegation at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State and Government of Nonaligned Countries, recently held in New Delhi. On that occasion he stressed that this significant gathering confirmed the original principles of the policy of nonalignment and expressed the unity of nonaligned countries regarding vital issues of the world today -- peace, independence, disarmament, and development. In this way the seventh conference fulfilled expectations and created favorable conditions for further determined actions by the nonaligned countries. At one of its forthcoming sessions, the SFRY Presidency will examine the SFRY delegation's report at the seventh conference and adopt an SFRY program of tasks and activities in implementing the decisions agreed at this meeting.

The session also examined several other questions concerning international relations and national defense.

The Presidency pardoned a number of convicted persons and examined a number of questions pertaining to its constitutional jurisdiction.

BORBA REVIEWS RESULTS OF NEW DELHI SUMMIT

AU161423 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12-13 Mar 83 p 15

[Commentary in the "The World This Week" column by Vlado Teslic: "On Their Own Road"]

[Text] If, after the sixth summit of nonaligned countries in Havana in 1977, we were able to note proudly that "the nonaligned countries have remained nonaligned," then, at the conclusion of the seventh summit in New Delhi, we can point out no less proudly that the nonaligned countries have remained united in their basic goals and actions for peace and radical changes in the world.

In this manner the nonaligned countries have stayed on course on Tito's road and remained loyal to his legacy from the preceding summit when, at one of the great crossroads of the movement, he appealed for solidarity, unity, and action capability.

As Indira Gandhi emphasized in her introductory greetings address, Tito's vision and wisdom were lacking at the seventh summit. For that reason the seventh summit relied on Tito's signpost, on his grandiose work and concept of nonalignment as an irreplaceable force of peace and progress. If, in Havana, it was essential for the movement to stay the course of its mainstream, then, in New Delhi, the mainstream has been virtually identified with the movement.

As a result of the fact that they have resolutely protected their independent political identity, the nonaligned countries can now more successfully come to grips with the many acute problems of mankind, including, above all, the danger of war and the blockade on further changes in international economic life.

In this connection the nonaligned countries are motivated by their conviction that independence, development, disarmament, and peace are indivisible and that they stem from the foundations of nonalignment, from devotion to the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference, equality, mutual benefits and peaceful coexistence.

Hence, it is insisted that any kind of existence is only possible through coexistence. Hence, all military interventions or outside interference are strongly opposed. Hence, there is also a strong insistence on preserving and strengthening independence and nonalignment and on outlining the measures of self-defense against the political and economic pressures to which the small independent and nonaligned countries, and especially those among them which are oriented to importing technology and capital, are particularly exposed. Hence, there is also constant insistance on a new international economic system as well as a democratization of international relations.

It is because of all of this that the New Delhi summit also represents a further and new assertion of the Nonaligned Movement's own philosophy, morals, policy, and attitudes. This philosophy, these morals and policy and these attitudes represent the broadest and most comprehensive outlook on the world, and primarily on its changes, that has ever been formulated anywhere. Therefore, all the attempts to place the movement at one distance or another from the blocs, to put it within the framework of some kind of a third bloc or to demobilize or degrade it by labeling it as "undetermined," "stretched out," or "neutral" are senseless.

"Nonalignment is national independence and freedom," Indira Gandhi answered to all this in her greetings address. Petar Stambolic even further deepened this thesis and made it current with the formulation: "Peace is indivisible from freedom and independent development."

It is an indisputable fact that the big powers have an extraordinarily important role as regards the issue of peace and security. This was stated in New Delhi but, at the same time, hardly anyone there missed the opportunity to point out that the blocs threaten peace and that there can be no stable peace under the conditions of confrontations and rivalries between the blocs and intensified exploitation of developing countries.

Peace is obviously not just the absence of war or the balance of power and fear.

All in all, the seventh summit has made a great contribution to the nonaligned concept of peace. It was unrealistic to expect that all this would be adequately expressed in the political resolution (because of the principle of consensus in adopting decisions). However, few views were expressed in which peace was not linked to independence and in which the policy of interference and interventions was not condemned.

This applies equally to the Middle East -- as the most dangerous hotbed of war -- and to Afghanistan, or Kampuchea.

After all, how could it be possible to condemn the policy of interference by one power and defend the policy of interference by another? Any interference in the end leads to intervention and any intervention most often instigates another intervention. And all interventions are intolerable and unacceptable and all countries must act according to the principle that force or threat of force may not be used against the territorial integrity or policy of independence of another country.

After all, this is what makes our movement the greatest peace movement of history, as Indira Gandhi justly points out.

It is in this context that it is necessary to consider all the concrete decisions of the seventh summit. These range from the appeal to the big powers to the appeal to Iraq and Iran to end their senseless war, which can only favor the further rivalry between the blocs, and to the support for the independence of every country and the expansion of zones of peace in the Mediterranean and elsewhere which represents one of the answers to the efforts of the blocs to expand their zones of influence.

The right to life, that is, the right to independence and freedom, is being increasingly identified with the right to free and independent development. This is one of the basic demands of the seventh summit.

However, the diagnosis by the nonaligned countries has not been that precise and clear. Mankind is balancing on the brink of a collapse of the world economic system. The crisis has affected all countries, but its worst consequences are suffered by the nonaligned and other developing countries.

What, then, should be undertaken in this situation, on this "second front" of the struggle for the democratization of international relations and the strategic orientation to nonalignment and a better life for all people?

Answering this question, the New Delhi summit has once again returned the following three topics to the position of primary importance: reliance on one's own forces, promoting disarmament, and global talks.

Someone might note that the nonaligned countries are repeating themselves. But has not the persistence in insisting on the original principles and independence stopped the process of a further division of the world between the blocs and rallied more than 100 nonaligned countries? The proposals of the nonaligned countries are virtually the only alternative and the only answer to the challenges of the world economy. Today, this is also the only platform which is based on the involvement of the entire international community and on dialogue and cooperation.

SPILJAK SIGNS MOURNING BOOK FOR TURKEY'S BALKER

LD162336 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG) -- "The Presidency of Yugoslavia will cherish with deep respect the memory of the exceptional contribution given by the late Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey Galip Balker to the deepening of friendly relations between the peoples of our two countries and the furtherance of our comprehensive cooperation".

These words were written by Vice-President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Mika Spiljak in a book of mourning opened in the Turkish Embassy in Belgrade on Wednesday on the occasion of the tragic death of Ambassador Balker.

"Once again we wish to state our strongest condemnation of this criminal act and the readiness of all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia to oppose international terrorism energetically" Spiljak wrote.

Other distinguished political, economic and cultural workers from Yugoslavia and a large number of heads of diplomatic missions accredited to this country visited the embassy.

Mojsov Signs Book

LD162341 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1701 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, Yugoslavia's federal secretary for foreign affairs, visited the Turkish Embassy here Wednesday afternoon and signed a book of condolences open on the occasion of the tragic assassination of Turkey's ambassador, Galip Balker. The book is due to be open tomorrow as well.

GRLICKOV, GREEK OFFICIAL DISCUSS REGIONAL ISSUES

LD162318 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1619 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG) -- Aleksandr Grlickov and Karolos Papoulias, high officials in the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY) and the Ruling Panhellenic Socialist Movement -- PASOK -- of Greece respectively, have emphasized that all progressive parties and movements in the Mediterranean must step up their activities to turn the region into a zone of peace and cooperation.

Grlickov and Papoulias underlined the significance of a meeting of Mediterranean party and movement representatives scheduled for the beginning of April in Athens. They said the meeting will present an opportunity to chart the course of Mediterranean progressive parties' activities in the efforts to relax tensions in the region.

The two officials also agreed that the SAWPY and PASOK must intensify cooperation in matters of mutual interest.

Karolos Papoulias, a PASOK secretary for international relations and under-secretary at the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, arrived on an official visit to Yugoslavia on Tuesday.

RIBICIC 14 MAR SPEECH ON MARX ANNIVERSARY

AU170845 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 15 Mar 83 p 6

[TANJUG report on speech by Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, on the centenary of Karl Marx's death delivered at the sixth session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 14 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG) -- One hundred years ago the death of one of the greatest geniuses of contemporary mankind cut short the heartbeat of a restive heart and a lively creativity. Prominent representatives of the First International were no longer able to ask Karl Marx questions. Thinkers and revolutionaries were condemned to interpret his enormous life's work, which contains five parts: philosophical foundations, historical materialism, criticism of the capitalist political economy, the theory of class struggle, and the theory of proletarian revolution. Thinkers and revolutionaries were able to find their bearings in this great confusion if they grasped Marx's central premise -- work as the essence of everything, as a process of liberating man's work, a change of surplus work into necessary work, real human democratic socialism, which ensures opportunities and circumstances in which work will become for every man a free, creative activity. They were successful if they took into account the international changes, the development of production forces and new scientific discoveries, while at the same time also the specific traits of their people and their country. They had to find new answers to new challenges, they had to develop Marx's thought, Mitja Ribicic said at today's session of the LCY Central Committee. He then continued:

These are the questions which today, on the centenary of Marx's death, every real ~~workers, revolutionary~~ and progressive ~~movement~~ poses to itself, to its workers class and to its people. We, Yugoslav Communists and the LCY, must also find an answer to these questions.

For over 60 years our Yugoslav organization of the workers movement has been developing, winning, growing and falling, has been seeking new things and has been wandering through the mind of Marx's thought. This is a long and important period of time in which the period of socialist revolutions and the development of socialism as a world process has finally begun.

On the centenary of Marx's death, we are obliged primarily to critically assess our road and loyalty to Marxism, the subjective testimony of our revolution, its nature, its original and theoretical contribution and interventions, its Marxist answers at the individual stages of building the socialist self-managing society, which has now existed for over half of our party's life. This is our specific Marxist experience and our contribution to the overall Marx treasury, which belongs to contemporary mankind.

Return to Marx's Original Thought

Today's centenary also reminds us of another jubilee that is important for the Yugoslav workers' vanguard because it means a turning point in its history and programmatic orientations. Footnote: The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in November 1952 renamed itself the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, taking as its example the League of Communists for which Marx and Engels wrote a program in the form of their manifesto, which was, thanks to Svetozar Markovic, translated into Serbian more than 110 years ago.

The renaming of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as the LCY means that once it assumed power, we determined the vanguard's position in a Marxist way, it means a new relationship between the party and authority, it means that our Yugoslav ship was no longer sailing under an unsuitable theoretical flag. We stress this because in the coming periods, when even greater and more difficult tests than those that occurred at the end of the forties probably await us, we will also return to the clear sources of Marx's thought, to the vital findings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and at the same time to the experiences and the original Marxist treasury of the Yugoslav revolution and the authors of this treasury -- Tito, Kardelj, Bakaric and others.

In view of the historic revolutionary changes in the world, which occurred under the influence of Karl Marx's scientific discoveries and revolutionary teaching, Marx is undoubtedly one of those giant personalities which do not belong only to a period, a movement, an entity, a people or country. Karl Marx does not belong only to the period of a capitalist transformation of science, a miraculously productive technology, an unprecedented subordination of nature and an unbridled exploitation of whole social classes and peoples. Karl Marx also does not belong to the 19th century, although his name and revolutionary work will forever have made an imprint on that century. He belongs to the 20th century, a century of socialist revolutions and enormous contradictions which showcase all the splendor and misery of the human mind. He will belong most of all to the 21st century and to the future generations if mankind succeeds in avoiding the ruin threatening it. Today we know that we can live and survive solely if we, together with Marx, build a new society and relations based on his teaching for which he laid the foundations with the power of his mind.

From Utopia to Science

As a thinker, revolutionary, and humanist, Karl Marx drew the line between the real history and the prehistory of human society. He was the first to scientifically explain the specific social situations in which it is possible to overcome these boundaries. He laid the theoretical foundations of the revolutionary activity of the modern and contemporary workers class and its staunch aspirations toward socialism. After over a century and a half of the influence of his thought on the processes of contemporary society, it is not difficult to answer the question of what the workers class and mankind gained from Karl Marx. We answer with the words of his fellow fighter and friend, Friedrich Engels:

"Karl Marx is the man who first ensured scientific foundations for socialism."

It was Karl Marx who joined theory and real social movement. Socialism has been introduced into the workers movement not only as a science but as a practice. Socialism has taken a decisive step from Utopia to science.

A historic task of the revolutionary workers class throughtout the world is to liberate itself and thus begin a historical process of a universal liberation of mankind. The liberation of the workers class can only be accomplished through its own work, while on its road to socialism and communism it must necessarily undergo long struggles for a complete transformation of all relations, values, and people themselves. The workers class, which is guided in these struggles by its political and theoretical vanguard, establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat which leads to a classless society -- communism. Karl Marx came upon this knowledge when he discovered the laws of the development of human history. For this reason Engles stresses that Karl Marx is a scientist, but primarily a revolutionary.

Although the utopian ideas about human communities are as old as mankind, according to Marx, in the previous historical periods the task of the workers class' self-liberation could not be set at all because there were no material possibilities for solving it. It was only the bourgeoisie, which has asserted the civilizing role of capital, which in fact created more mass and greater production forces than all previous generations put together, but at a price of unprecedented exploitation. These forces, which were ruthlessly exploited, necessarily encountered, within the frameworks of the capitalist civilization itself, great contradictions with their own suppositions. The dispute with the bourgeoisie necessarily had to assume the character of a social revolution in which the victorious workers class, according to Marx, shook off all the old trappings and prepared itself for establishing a new society.

Workers, New Social Force

"These days everything seems to be burdened by one's own contradictions," Karl Marx said in April 1856. "We see that the machines, which have the miraculous power to reduce human work and make it more fruitful, led workers to hunger and excessive work. These new sources of wealth are being changed with some kind of unusual, fateful magic into sources of shortage. It appears that we pay for gaining skills by losing our importance. It appears that man is being enslaved by other people or by his own meanness at the same speed at which mankind is gaining control over nature. It seems that even the clear light of science can only shed light on a dark background of ignorance. It appears that all our discoveries and all our progress end with the fact that the material forces are endowed with intellectual life, and that human life has been reduced to the level of an unreasonable material force. This antagonism between modern industry and science, on the one hand, and poverty and disintegration on the other, this antagonism between the production forces and the social relations of our period are a fact, a tangible, prevailing, and indisputable fact."

Today we could not describe better the basic contradictions of contemporary society. Today, too, we can again sum up his words and say: "As far as we are concerned, we are not mistaken about the nature of this cunning spirit which constantly exposes all these contradictions. We know that the new social forces, in order to operate well, demand that new people, who are workers, should control them."

With this penetrating criticism, with its scientific discoveries and the revolutionary-humanisitic science which encompass society and social relations in general, Karl Marx considerably raised himself above that period of class exploitation, humiliation, and indescribable poverty of the proletariat.

Contrary to the bourgeois political parties, which were inspired by narrow-minded class egoism, Karl Marx theoretically laid the foundations and established a political party of the revolutionary proletariat and named it "a party in a great historical sense." He named this party the League of Communists and its members communists -- protagonists of the workers class' struggle for a "real community of people and peoples." The League of Communists is the most militant ideotheoretical and political leader of that revolutionary movement which, according to Marx, must radically and vitally change all the existing relations among people and nations, abolish class exploitation, confront people as people and nations as nations with their really humane mission -- a free and united cooperation. As a real humanist, Karl Marx proceeded from the statement that no man is sufficiently good to be the master of another man. The Communist Party was established as a theoretical and political vanguard of all revolutionary forces which make efforts to establish free associations of united producers on a national and international plane.

Experiences of the Yugoslav Socialist Revolution

Karl Marx outlined the basic contours of the subjects, the ways and means of a revolutionary elimination of all exploitative relations. Thus real humanism is a vital characteristic of both Marx's critical analyses as well as Marx's view of the prospects and opportunities for revolutionary changes. This also applies to an equal extent to Marx's criticism of bourgeois property relations, which are an essential condition for the exploitation of the workers class and which even "make possible the exploitation of one people by another."

The abolition of these property relations is a vital condition for liberating work and for this reason also the basic interest, form, and goal of the self-liberation of the revolutionary workers class within national and international frameworks. At the same time, this is one of the vital and far-reaching experiences of the Yugoslav socialist revolution.

For this reason Marx's thought is present at all important meetings and congresses; it is inscribed in the program documents of our League of Communists. At the second congress of Yugoslav self-managers Tito defined our attitude to Karl Marx and his teaching thus:

"In history, particularly in recent history, there has been no shortage of ideas about liberating man, about humanism and human happiness. However, only Karl Marx drew attention to the essence of real humanism and to the possibilities for its concrete realization. His great historic merit lies primarily in the fact that when he discovered the laws of social development he warned that the opportunities for realizing real humanism are in the process of liberating work and, in this connection, he established that the historical subject of this process is the workers class. For this reason Marx also believed that the revolutionary solidarity and self-activity of the workers class is the only possible road, along which this class, in liberating itself, also liberates all people on the road to establishing a classless communist community."

In view of this humanistic-liberation orientation, Karl Marx and his revolutionary teaching belong to all of mankind. The correctness of Lenin's appraisal made immediately before the October Revolution also attests to this:

"The historic period that is coming will bring an even greater victory to Marxism as a science of the proletariat."

Confirmation of Marx's Humanistic Thought

And, in fact, to the present day numerous socialist revolutions, workers and liberation movements have confirmed Marxism.

Among other things, Marx's humanistic thought has in our time and on our soil experienced a real and comprehensive confirmation due to the Yugoslav socialist revolution. We Yugoslav Communists have grasped the real revolutionary scope of Marx's thought and have, while reading his works, incorporated it into our own experiences. The idea of the October Revolution is a bridge between Marx and us, our revolution is one of the bridges between Marx and the younger revolutionary movements. Thus Marxism has survived until now despite the deformations of the post-October period. In the present dramatic times, this means encouragement for removing the obstacles from the difficult road of progressive forces, forces which try to open up new prospects for man's freedom, happiness and progress.

For this reason we Yugoslav Communists know that we have in Marx's work and in his theory of scientific socialism a powerful weapon. We also know that we will enrich our Marxist-theoretical creative work to the extent to which we, both ourselves as well as the future generations of revolutionary builders of socialist self-management, continue to measure in a principled manner our revolutionary activity with Marx's original teaching and theoretical vision.

In his preface to the first German edition of the first volume of "Das Kapital," Marx warned: "Every nation could and should learn from another. Even if a society has succeeded in discovering the natural laws of its development...it cannot jump over the stages of natural development and cannot avoid the order in which they come. However, it can shorten and mitigate its birthpains."

The Yugoslav socialist revolution also followed these scientific perceptions of Marx in such a way that under the leadership of the Communist Party or the LCY it indeed discovered the natural laws of development of socialism under specific conditions, especially multinational ones. It was discovering and it found the most humane, specific forms of development most suitable to its circumstances. Precisely in this way, it shortened and mitigated its own birth pains, above all with the birth and development of socialist self-management. Therefore, we may proudly say that we were learning from Marx and we learned what was essential, just as we have been learning and are learning from the experiences of other revolutionary and liberation movements and in this very way from other peoples and movements. The most important part of all this is the fact that Marx himself strengthened our conviction that only our own way will be successful.

Social Revolution in Specific Conditions

With the accession of Comrade Tito to the top, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia systematically and resolutely prepared for the social revolution under specific conditions.

The Yugoslav Communists have concretized Marx's thought that a theory may become accepted by a people to the extent that the theory means a realization of the people's needs; the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia must have both class liberation and national liberation characteristics and must realize the centuries-old strivings of our peoples for liberation both from the alien yoke and the yoke of domestic masters.

The dialectical links between the class and the national aspects left an indelible imprint on the overall revolutionary movement in the prewar monarchy of Yugoslavia, generated unprecedented heroism by all the people in the national liberation war and a monolithic defense of the achievements after the victory of the Partisans, and they have been incessantly manifested as an original and essential characteristic of our overall life and development under the conditions of socialist self-management.

In conformity with this aim we adopted one of our theoretically and practically most important decisions on setting up national parties, the starting point of which is the unity of the national and class interests of the Yugoslav peoples who were called proletarian peoples by Ivan Cankar [turn-of-the-century Slovene writer].

This question was theoretically elaborated by Kardelj in his "Development of the Slovene National Problem." The same thing that Gramsci wanted to embrace theoretically with the "historical bloc," Kardelj and Kidric achieved with the idea of the liberation front; on the Yugoslav scale, the revolution theoretically and practically conflicted with the "bourgeois resistance movement," its exclusion of other peoples and its subordination to foreign capital and domination. Such an attitude to the revolution and the workers movement brought victory, but it also brought an inevitable conflict with the hegemonistic strivings and pragmatism in the international workers movement. Yugoslav Marxism rejected the Stalinist strategy of the "spread of socialism" and with its nonaligned policy began establishing a Yugoslav democratic alternative to the blocs, and with its political system of socialist self-management, it began establishing a Yugoslav democratic alternative to the blocs, and with its political system of socialist self-management, it began establishing a democratic alternative to the party monopoly and the rule on behalf of the workers class.

National Liberation Struggle: A Precious Experience

The subjects in the national liberation struggle were all the progressive social forces. To put it briefly: There would have been no national liberation struggle, just as there would have been no socialist revolution, had we not politically, in theory and practice, recognized the national belonging of all the social class factors and their creative energy. This should also be a precious lesson for the present circumstances when we are searching for specific answers to the great trials and challenges of the present times and trying to open up new and broader prospects for our accelerated development and our common life in a socialist republic based on associated labor and on federal principles of equality.

As adherents of Karl Marx, we have never indulged in petty pragmatic political tactics, but the realization -- founded and considered in a Marxist basis -- of the concrete qualities of the historical dialectic unity of the national and the class elements has been always of decisive significance for us in our complex situation. Therefore, we have several times been the target of unheard-of attacks. We experienced the most brutal attack in 1948. Its essential aim was to confuse the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. It was a senseless and silly attempt to inflict fear on the autochthonous socialist revolution because it "sinned," or rather because it consciously renounced the set dogmatic schemes and stereotypes of the statist bureaucratic levelling, denying the national and other peculiarities and because it resisted the ideological glorification and canonization of "higher" abstract interests, as if interests existed without a concrete and specific content and national characteristics. It was a ruthless attack on the fundamental and at the same time specific achievements and values of the multinational class-liberation movement which gave the Yugoslav socialist revolution, as Marx would say, its original name.

For this and many other reasons it is now necessary to talk about our attitude toward Marxism and the socialist revolution. Experience shows that the motor of every proletarian or socialist revolution is the conscious revolutionary energy of millions of people, which was particularly pointed out by Lenin, Tito, and Kardelj in our conditions, and that the so-called objective circumstances are only a condition which by itself cannot set off anything. At the opening of the Josip Broz Tito School in Krumrovec, Kardelj said that the "central task of our Marxism is to deal with the situation, laws, contradictions, and roads of development under contemporary conditions."

Answers to Questions of Principle

The LCY program contains the broadest starting foundations for the development of communist society in our situation.

It is the signpost for our society in its strivings to establish a communist society. The questions that will always be topical are: How precisely do the revolutionary forces as conceived by Marx recognize what is of basic importance and emphasize what is necessary and inevitable? What are these forces prepared to carry out in solid revolutionary practice and in what way are they prepared to do so? Are they conceiving schemes and abstract systems and turning Marx into a prophet and Marxism into a mystery and dogma? Or, are they acting according to the basic directions and methods of his views and the general goal of revolutionary movement? When we adopted the law under which factories were handed over to workers, Comrade Tito said:

"Marx, Engels and Lenin provide most of the answers to all questions of principle, but these principles can be analyzed and implemented in every individual country only by those who come from among the people of the country concerned, who know the problems of their country, who know its history, its customs, its shortcomings and its good sides, who are able to monitor vigilantly all developments on the spot and who, at the same time, know Marxist science -- that is, understand its spirit -- and skillfully master it and implement it in practice."

It was of essential importance for Tito and the Yugoslav Communists to have been able to find in Marx's work the "answers to all questions of principle" but, at the same time, it has always been equally important for them to "recognize the problems of their own country." Our movement and its vanguard have assumed the actual and entire personal political and historical responsibility for analyzing and implementing these principles in our country. It has been demonstrated several times in the past that the formalistic and dogmatic understanding of Marx's work and various canonizations and thunderous apologias or even louder negations nearly always hide an unwillingness to assume responsibility for revolutionary actions and their consequences. As we are guided by Marx, who used to say under some circumstances that he was not a Marxist, it must be noted that what is of vital importance for the attitude toward Marxism is the responsibility of the revolutionaries and the revolutionary vanguard both for a truly appropriate understanding of Marx's "answers to the questions of principle" and, naturally, also for the theoretical analysis and the implementation of these answers under the specific conditions of socialist revolution. The responsibility understood in this manner is one of the basic conditions for organizing million-strong revolutionary masses of concrete living people for "long struggles" and "processes of transformation"; the responsibility understood in this manner is really an essential condition for discovering "the natural law (...) of development" of the socialist revolution "in every individual country separately." According to Marx, there is no end to socialist revolution and, as Tito says, it will last until we build socialism.

Self-Management as a Hard-Won Value

Viewed from the angle of the present stage of development of socialist self-management, the social and historical path which we have traversed may seem less complicated than it really was. Because we are compelled to concern ourselves with current problems, it seems that we cannot compare more often the present situation with the conditions which we experienced during our revolution. Therefore, the anniversary of Marx's death requires all of us to speak among other things about the recent and less recent history of socialist self-management.

Today, it seems normal to us to live and work in the world of values of socialist self-management, but these values were born in the difficult everyday and historical national liberation and in other fierce and persistent battles of millions of our working people who, as recently as a little over 4 decades ago, were exhausted by social poverty but nevertheless proud and resolutely prepared to change both themselves and the picture of their own country.

It was then that Tito announced from the Kraljevica shipyards to the Yugoslav workers class: "Workers must take their fate into their own hands."

For decades, Karl Marx' teaching about the free association of associated producers has deeply permeated the thinking and work of the Yugoslav Communist Party, penetrated the workers class, peasants and intelligentsia of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and then asserted itself in the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. The experience of the Paris Communards and this vision of Marx have acquired an all-workers', all-people's, and general human meaning in all of their concrete forms in our communist, revolutionary, workers' and national liberation movement.

The free association of associated producers in the form of socialist self-management was, in the true sense of the word, our further historical goal, but we knew that it would first be necessary to abolish in a revolutionary way the system of class exploitation, destroy the old state, overthrow the domestic and foreign masters, expel the occupier.... The experiences of the Paris Communards, the October Revolution and Lenin's Soviets demonstrated to all of Europe and to us the attainability and feasibility of that great goal: the formation of a socialist self-managing social community in which the working man will freely decide his own and the common fate and in which every individual people separately and all peoples jointly will be sovereign masters in their own land.

Yugoslav Socialist Revolution Is a Constant Process

Since the time of the founding of the Yugoslav Communist Party and especially since the time of Tito's assumption of its leadership, the Yugoslav Communists have ideologically directed, politically led, and organizationally strengthened our revolutionary class liberation and national liberation movement from the viewpoint of its future. Proceeding along the historical road toward the "real community" of people and peoples, advancing from one to another concrete goal and from one to another original achievement and "discovering the original laws of its development," our revolutionary liberation movement has constantly given specific, but nevertheless concrete forms to its own future. Thus, the historical decisions in Jajce [at the second session of the Antifacist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia in November 1943] and the armed all-people's self-liberation resulted from the practice of the general all-people's uprising against the occupier. The workers' self-management was born in the practice of all-people's self-liberation and the system of complete socialist self-management, and the vision of the republic of free self-managing associated labor resulted from the practice of workers' self-management.

Considered as a whole, the Yugoslav socialist revolution is a unified and constant process because the Yugoslav workers class and its vanguard are constantly "driven forward by the consequences of their own actions."

"The workers class demanded no miracles from the commune," Marx wrote. "If it wants to achieve its own liberation and thereby also that higher form of life which contemporary society is irresistibly approaching because of its economic development, then it must endure long struggles and a number of historical processes which are completely changing people and circumstances."

By accepting Marx's findings, the Yugoslav socialist revolution acquired a powerful weapon for theoretically analyzing the historical path it traversed, its contemporary position, and its future historical possibilities. Using this theoretical tool, it also found the answer to the question of why it must still "endure a long struggle and a number of historical processes" which are essentially, comprehensively, and "completely changing people and circumstances."

The Yugoslav Communists and the Yugoslav socialist revolution are also enormously indebted to Marx because he particularly emphasized workers' self-management and, at the same time, because his theoretical work strengthened our faith in our ability to continue the work of the Paris Communards with our own forces.

Marx's attitude toward the role of the proletarian state was especially valuable in our situation.

Self-Management Is More Than a Slogan "Factories to Workers"

When the Yugoslav Communists adopted Marx's view that workers' self-management is the basis of socialist revolution, they realized that the revolutionary workers class should abolish domination in its own country, first of all, releasing all subjective forces of the young socialist society and, next, initiating the process of growth of the workers' self-management into the social relationship of integral socialist self-management. We have answered the thesis that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary during the first stage of the revolution and that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be replaced by the state of democracy as soon as possible. We have answered it with Engels' statement: "It is complete nonsense to speak about a free national state. As long as the proletariat still needs the state, it does not need it because of freedom, but because of the struggle against its opponents. However, as soon as it is possible to speak about the freedom of the state, the state as such no longer exists."

The long-term goal of socialism in our situation is not the establishment of "state democracy" or of statism, but rather the socialization of state functions and the development of self-management and self-managing democracy. In this manner the conditions are created and the path is cleared for the withering away of the state as the dictatorship of the proletariat in all of its forms -- that is, also in its present form in the service of socialist self-management. "The state withers away to the same extent that self-management develops," Bakaric used to emphasize and completely justly called attention to the topical nature of this question at the present time by noting that, today in some spheres, we have more state organization than we had in the period when our system was called administrative. Therefore, the essential question is whether and how quickly we release the state from its function as the executor of duties of the owner of social resources. This process will be the quicker the more the mutual income-based and other relations among workers in the basic organizations of associated labor strengthen their ability to directly take this essential function of decisionmaking in society into their own hands.

The contribution of our revolution to the Marxist theory and socialist practice by far exceeds a mere implementation of the slogan "Factories to workers." We were the first to begin to build a socialist society in which self-management emerged from factories and encompassed the organization of the society as a whole.

Constant Confirmation With Results

We have undoubtedly achieved historically significant results despite all the difficulties; today it is clear that one of the main causes of these difficulties is to be found in ourselves and in our awareness and actions. Our self-management has the strength which surpasses the strength of a mere experiment; it has its own internal laws and its reasonable institutional structure and provides many though not all answers to the questions of its further development and the questions of the contemporary world. On a world scale, it is a factor which cannot be neglected, although it has not yet become the predominant idea in the present-day world, for other ideas also exert their influence and power. If self-management is to preserve its reputation, it must in our internal conditons incessantly confirm itself with results, with humane relations among people in the sphere of production and distribution, and with the management of the surplus value of human labor, the productivity of labor, the quality of goods, the efficiency of the system, stability and social security of working people, with the wealth of supply and the growth of the standard of living on the basis of income actually earned.

It must preserve and strengthen its reputation in the eyes of our people. Every step toward an actual transformation is, according to Marx, worth more than a dozen programs.

On the basis of these assessments of our practical and theoretical contributions to Marxist theory and the revolutionary practice of socialism, we can point out with real pride "the historical transformation processes" and the "protracted struggles" which brought us in the mid-seventies to the beginning of the implementation of a political system of socialist self-management and a republic of self-managing associated labor which are based on the delegate principles and the Associated Labor Law. In its deepest class essence, the "protracted struggle" for workers self-management meant the assertion and the release of tremendous creative initiatives and energy of the workers class and the working people on an international and even world scale.

The Struggle for Self-Managing Organization of Society

Therefore, this "protracted struggle" has been manifested and is being manifested precisely as a struggle for a new, self-managing organization of the socialist society emanating from the pluralism of the authentic self-managing interests of all the protagonists and actors of socialist self-management; the class humanistic essence of this self-managing organization has been manifested and is being manifested in "a number of historical transformation processes" -- the elimination of the alienation of labor, the socialization of politics and the strivings to make workers masters of the overall relations and means of social reproduction.

The class humanistic essence of this "historical process" was defined very well by Edvard Kardelj in his famous study, "The Directions of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management," in 1977:

"Man cannot be made happy by the state, the system, or a political party. Happiness can be created only by man himself. Vanguard socialist forces and socialist society, therefore, can have one aim only: to create conditions in accordance with the possibilities of a given historical moment under which man will have as much freedom as possible in his personal expression and creation, so that he will be able to freely work and create for his happiness on the basis of social ownership of the means of production; this is self-management."

The creative attitude to Marx and Marxism is of lasting historical value to the Yugoslav Communists, the leading theoretical and ideopolitical force of the Yugoslav socialist revolution, and it is especially topical now, when we are tackling a number of new problems.

Critically Evaluating Theoretical Work in the LCY

For this reason, too, the observation of the 100th anniversary of Marx' death provides an appropriate opportunity for us to once again place on the agenda of our activity and comprehensively and critically consider our concrete attitude toward theoretical work in the LCY and our general attitude toward Marxism as a theory of social process, as the LCY program states.

It is not only the future of socialism in our country, but the reputation of socialist management as well as the reputation of socialism in the contemporary world in general, that depend on the entire ideological-theoretical activity of the LCY and its ability to inspire the workers class and the masses of people and to orient them toward creative actions to change the existing relations.

Our attitude to Marx, Marxism and theoretical work essentially stems from our personal and historical responsibility for our own revolutionary practice. Dry runs, unsatisfactory results, our failures to find our bearings in complicated circumstances, lack of political vigilance, an indulgent attitude toward class enemies, opportunism, leniency and lack of self-criticism also show that we are insufficiently developed in the Marxist ideological-political aspects and that we are lacking in our knowledge of concrete possibilities for our activity.

It is impossible to expect good results, especially at the historical level of our ethical-political responsibility, without a constant and systematic theoretical study of experiences and possibilities of socialist self-management, its political system, delegate system, and role of the Socialist Alliance and trade unions as well as without a constant scientific and ideological-theoretical examination of these experiences. It must be openly stated that, without all this, the LCY will not be able to fulfill its role as the political and ideological-theoretical vanguard of socialist self-management involving an increasingly highly educated workers class in the front ranks and that, in the same way, it will not be able to finally, definitely, and completely assert the new relations of international solidarity in the international revolutionary and progressive national liberation movement.

In his aforementioned speech at the opening of the Josip Broz Tito LCY Political School, Comrade Edvard Kardelj especially emphasized:

"Independent Marxist-theoretical research work in the League of Communists in close connection with its practices and the Marxist education of Communists for engaged and creative activity in our self-managing socialist society are the essential conditions for the LCY's real leading ideological-political role in the society. This is true because only such an ideological and politically united socialist force which can see further into the future than the class itself which is engaged in its everyday struggles, and a party which is not closed within itself but acts as part of the workers' movement and entire progressive social trends, can really assert the role of the vanguard of the workers class and thereby also the role of the most progressive social force in every society."

LCY Must Lead the Struggle for Progress

The tasks of the LCY in this sphere are all the more important and, at the same time, increasingly necessary in view of the tasks in the sphere of economic stabilization, saving, bringing order into the market and supply conditions, asserting the role of workers in decisionmaking on surplus value and other economic and political functions of the society, asserting the delegate system and regulating national relations in our federal and revolutionary community, struggle against nationalism and -- in a world divided between the blocs -- struggle for economic and political relations on the basis of equality, for strengthening the reputation of our country in world political circles and in worldwide public opinion and for advancing the movement of nonaligned countries and our other activities within the UN framework.

The development and intensive promotion of all forms of theoretical and ideological-political work in the LCY as well as the development, cadre strengthening, and Marxist assertion and orientation of scientific work in general are all the more necessary because life moves forward by giant steps every day and the social and political development both in our country and abroad is increasingly dynamic. Briefly, the Communists must be much more active in the sphere of theory and in this connection they must be guided by Karl Marx who issued the following warning in the preface to the French edition of the first volume of DAS KAPITAL: "There is no wide road leading to science and only those who do not fear fatigue while they climb its steep paths can expect to reach its bright peaks." The LCY program, too, also obliges us to follow this statement by Marx.

"Marxism is not a doctrine set once and for all time, and it is also not a system of dogmas, but rather a theory of social process which is developing in successive steps and therefore also requires a creative assertion of theory and its further development primarily through a general application of the practice of socialist development and the achievements of the scientific thinking of men."

Tradition of the Revolutionary Workers' Movement

We are also enjoined to develop the theoretical work in the LCY by the shining theoretical tradition of our revolutionary workers' movement and especially by the tradition of the Yugoslav Communist Party which is firmly based on and linked to the original revolutionary ideas of Svetozar Markovic, Ivan Cankar, Dimitrije Tucovic and others and has been personified by an entire pleiad of Communist thinkers and theoreticians and, at the same time, most prominent statesmen and high party leaders ranging from Filip Filipovic to Tito.

At the end of this year, it will be half a century since the publication of the first volume of Marx's DAS KAPITAL translated by Mosa Pijade and Rodoljub Colakovic and prepared for the press by August Cesarec and Veselin Maslesa. The Yugoslav Communist Party honored the 50th anniversary of Marx's death with the publication. In this respect we should also today, in our pragmatic and quite voluntaristic period, considerably sharpen our attitude toward Marxism. We could justly ask ourselves whether our numerous difficulties about which we have spoken at length recently and which we also critically discuss at our sessions, are also a consequence of the fact that all too often we move away from the well-known views of Marx and the views of other Marxists and of the fact that we have subordinated our social, and at times also our revolutionary, work and the interests of our movement to the limited nature of our partial interests.

It is also probably because of this that so many opportunities have been provided for a strong wave of conservative nationalism and anticommunism, a wave which has spread throughout the world and quite understandably also splashed onto our open society.

I think that on this occasion we must really emphasize that the results of the implementation of our revolutionary changes on the basis of Marxist knowledge represent, above all, the assertion of the position of associated workers who should become masters of the resources, possibilities, and results of work because it has perhaps never in the history of contemporary society been as obvious as it is now that the fate of socialism and mankind depends on who is really managing the surplus value.

Ivan Cankar poetically presented the ideological message of Marx's and Engels' manifesto in his wonderful literary work about the servant Jernej and his rights; and the Yugoslav Communists headed by Tito and Kardelj were among the first in the world to begin to form a society of free associated producers, our republic of labor. The consistency, unity, and vigilance in implementing our basic orientations and paths to this humane goal confirm the LCY -- according to Marx -- as a party in a complete historical sense.

SAWPY PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES STABILIZATION

AU121847 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 83 p 1

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Mar -- Unity of action, which is indispensable if the entire country is to follow the stabilization course, imposes that nobody should deviate a single step from the adopted positions of the stabilization policy, above all, in reducing spending and imports within the limits of available income. We are all obliged to conform with agreed policy, and it is unacceptable that one community should spend within agreed limits and another should spend as it pleases.

This was stressed at the session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium today (Marin Cetinic in the chair). A discussion was held on the implementation of the stabilization policy in 1983.

Marjan Rozic pointed out in his opening speech that a more and more pronounced differentation exists between those who are approaching world market levels in productivity and production costs and those who are turning to operations under the conditions of autarchy and inflation; between those who seek income through increased prices and others who did it through more productive work; between those who are running up losses and waiting for somebody to rescue them and those who are solving business operation difficulties themselves.

The members of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium today discussed another important matter on the implementation of which the overall effects of economic stabilization most directly depend. Although the sowing of some crops has begun, farmers are facing a number of difficulties, primarily in providing fertilizers, pesticides and spare parts for agricultural machines. Unless production materials are provided in the shortest possible time, it will be very difficult to carry out the very ambitious plan to increase food production this year by as much as 2.5 percent over last year's record production.

On this occasion, a report on the implementation of the conclusions of the SAWPY Federal Conference on current problems of the position of our workers who are temporarily employed abroad was also discussed.

ECONOMISTS DISCUSS TRADE AT MEETING 16 MAR

LD161544 Zagreb Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 15, Mar 83

[Text] Our country's foreign trade results in the first 2 months this year are better than last year, but are still below the expected level determined by the plan. This was stressed today in the LCY Central Committee Presidium at a consultative meeting of Communist economic experts devoted to export problems. Participants in the debate included a timely supply of raw and reproduction materials to the economy, particularly in the case of organizations of associated labor producing for exports as being among the most urgent tasks.

BORBA NOTES THREE UNPROFITABLE PLANNED PROJECTS

AU161659 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 83 p 2

[Aleksandar Djulejic report]

[Summary] A representative of the Serbian Executive Council has stated that there will be no money for the construction of a cement factory in Serbia except perhaps for one in Kosjeric next year and only if Kosjeric provides the greater part of the money itself. However, three communities: Bela Palanka, Kosjeric, and Golubac, have begun preparations for the construction of cement plants and together spent 260 million dinars so far. The planned annual capacity for each of them is 800,000 tons.

The construction of the cement factory in Kosjeric would cost 10.5 billion dinars, in Bela Palanka 11.2 billion, and in Golubac 13.87 billion. Despite the fact that the entire Yugoslav economy could not afford to spend that much money and that it would not need that much cement anyway, the three communities still want to build the factories. Bela Palanka has signed agreements to purchase equipment and Golubac has imported part of the equipment from the Soviet Union.

The Belgrade Institute for Investment Economy has compared the plans and found out that many data are false.

"At the end it noted that none of the three projects would be profitable even if their construction were finished without at all exceeding the realistically estimated costs." Due to large loans and interest, for the first 10 years the cement factories would register big losses: The Kosjeric factory, 690 million dinars, the Bela Palanka factory, 850 million, and the Golubac factory, 1.16 billion dinars, all annually.

Another question is why "these people and others like them who can be found in other places" insist on building unprofitable factories when smaller factories can be built with less money and employ 100 times more people. "Do they really believe that when they eventually begin construction the 'social community at large' will have to intervene, as has often been said in the past, and that someone else will still cover their losses?"

LJUBICIC VISITS POZAREVAC, DISCUSSES ISSUES

LD160348 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1355 GMT 16 Mar 83

[Excerpts] Pozarevac, 15 Mar (TANJUG) -- Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, today visited Pozarevac and inspected a number of work organizations within the framework of the Pozarevac agro-industrial combine. Nikola Ljubicic was accompanied by Slobodan Milosevic, member of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium; Nikola Stanic, chairman of the Republican Committee for Agriculture; and Petar Zecevic, chairman of the Management Board of the Agricultural Bank.

Nikola Ljubicic also took part in the work of the expanded session of the Pozarevac League of Communists Municipal Committee. He said that more rapid development of agriculture is one of our strategic orientations in the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization.

Ljubicic went on to stress that despite the high yields in 1982, Yugoslavia is having to import about 500,000 tons of wheat, 100,000 tons of which is for Serbia. To be able to do so Yugoslavia has to set aside $92.5 million and Serbia nearly $20 million. In view of the fact that foreign exchange resources are limited, this is a heavy burden. After failing to avoid having to spend this sum this year, we must do all that we can in the social and private sectors alike to avoid having to spend similar sums next year.

Ljubicic advocated a far more studious approach to the realization of the agricultural development programs. Imbalances between primary production and processing capacities must be eliminated more quickly. Slaughterhouses without livestock to slaughter, sugar refineries without sugar beets to refine, milk processing plants without milk to process can only be a heavy burden on the social community and a cause of high costs in the production of food. No processing capacity should be built in the future unless the supply of raw materials needed for its profitable operation is secured in advance.

ANDREJ MARINC SPEAKS AT SLOVENE CC SESSION

LD111132 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Mar (TANJUG) -- Andrej Marinc, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, took part in a discussion at the Slovene Central Committee session on the tasks of Communists in strengthening the ideological and action ability as well as the organization of the Slovene League of Communists. He emphasized the importance of the last LCY Central Committee session regarding the ideological mobilization of the members and organizations of the League of Communists and their efficacious struggle against the protagonists of phenomena and tendencies who try to exploit the present difficulties and endanger certain fundamental achievements and values of our revolution.

Above all, this concerns the anarcho-liberal and dogmatic-bureaucratic forces and the false leftwing activity which lacks perspective. The intensified economic situation and our shortcomings encourage and link all opposition forces in Yugoslavia.

Last July the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia warned about the revival of some forms of liberalism and nationalism in our republic. The League of Communists of Slovenia and all organized subjective forces must concretely unmask such cases and groups as well as their intentions and platforms. We must openly warn the working people not to be deceived by either petty-bourgeois or leftwing phrasemongers who are offering cheap and demagogic solutions which have absolutely nothing in common with the self-managing democracy in which organized workers decide their fate, Andrej Marinc emphasized.

The concept of economic stabilization represents the only real basis for permanently overcoming the present economic and political difficulties and problems. "These are not popular and cheap orientations," Marinc said, "but foundations for painstaking work, for the transition to a higher level of development. This is basically the social reform which should again affirm and supplement some values of our socialist self-managing development which have been weakened and make life to an even greater degree democratic, truly free, and humane, as well as economically and socially more efficacious. [quotation marks as received]

The burden of the present economic difficulties must be distributed in the most just way possible in order to encourage those who are prepared to work more qualitatively and thus to contribute more to social progress.

Continuing, the president of the Slovene Central Committee spoke about the need for a greater ideopolitical offensive by the League of Communists in the sphere of consciousness as well as addressing some questions of intranational relations. Intranational relations are of decisive importance for our entire socialist self-managing federal community and the prospects of every Yugoslav nation and nationality.

The essence of international relations in Yugoslavia lies in the economic, political, cultural, and all other equalities of all nations and nationalities.

The Socialist Republic of Slovenia is also losing the character of a one-nation republic. Some new processes are developing which we are insufficiently studying. All other republics and autonomous provinces are nationally heterogenous. Our order, which is based on historic experience, has determined that the basic right of equality of the nations and nationalities is, above all, fulfilled in the republics and autonomous provinces. The revolution has expressed this by brotherhood and unity, solidarity, reciprocity, and affirmation of the working class as the leading social force. In the revolution, we also unitedly committed ourselves to socialism which we introduced in the postwar period in our way -- in the form of socialist self-management. Both equal intranational relations and socialist self-management demand constant advancement because nothing is here forever. Every solution must be verified from the point of view of these two basic criteria, Marinc said.

Today we witness repeated discussions and meditations about nationalism among the public and in some information media, especially in the so-called yellow press. There is talk about a passive, defensive, harmless, nonaggressive -- and I do not know what other kind -- form of nationalism which is allegedly our Slovene specialty. There is a desire by some researchers of Slovene conciousness to impose this on us, and individuals flirt with them, thus complicating the thing even further and introducing a vagueness about the forms of nationalism.

Nationalism represents a constant danger in every republic and autonomous province.

It is like a cancer which is destroying the social fabric and relations among people, nations, nationalities, republics, and autonomous provinces. Nationalism is an alien and reactionary ideology as far as our systems and revolution are concerned and we do not need any differentiation between a greater and smaller level of danger or harmlessness. In our entire new history this has been the central ideological and political question topical in all periods of our development and against which we must constantly struggle, above all, to prevent its appearance and growth. It is known that the LCY stance envisages that we must particularly struggle against nationalism in the environment in which it appears.

Concerning intranational relations in the federation, it is essential that we strengthen equality and the regulation of relations which encourages socialist self-managing relations and the system of agreement-making and not statism and centralism. This applies equally to socioeconomic relations as to all other forms of cooperation and regulation of general affairs. Some people would like to replace centralism and statism at the federal level with statism in the republics and autonomous provinces. Autarky and arbitrariness in the republics and autonomous provinces are also extremely harmful for the republic or autonomous provinces concerned as well as for successful development within the framework of the federal community. The constitutional relations in the federation, republics, and autonomous provinces as well as the consolidation of associated labor must therefore be the basic starting point for our concrete behavior and activity, Andrej Marinc said.

The economic policy and mechanisms of the system which in the federation allow the formation of anonymous capital and so-called redistribution of income, or any inequality which is not in keeping with the agreements and plan, are extremely harmful from the point of view of intranational relations and general progress. We must therefore change certain bases of the economic policy and support the linking of associated labor throughout Yugoslavia.

In Slovenia, he said, we have had fatal experience with nationalism which appeared in the form of clericalism. "For several years now, our republic has had normal relations with the Catholic religious community through the SAWP Federal Conference and state organs," Andrej Marinc stated. "We have a policy which consistently respects the Constitution and the legal order. In the present intensified conditions, their is the danger of clericalist activity -- by individual religious circles and by a part of the church hierarchy. A section of young theologians especially desires from time to time to work in an aggressive manner against the foundations of our order and this objectively leads to a sharpening of the situation. The organized subjective forces, and also the church leadership, must bear in mind these dangers."

Marinc also spoke about the workers from other republics and provinces who are employed in Slovenia. In this connection, he emphasized that in Slovenia there must be greater sensitivity concerning the study and influence of relations between the citizens and workers of other nations and nationalities and the Slovene majority.

Between 120,000 and 150,000 workers from other republics live or work in Slovenia as seasonal workers. I say, he said, that a great majority of them are included in work and sociopolitical life in a very creative and equal way, as also envisaged by the Constitution. Their contribution to the development of Slovenia is considerable. Many of them have decided to live permanently in Slovenia. Several open problems exist among those who only work on a temporary basis and live in the homes for bachelors, or who moved here in an unorganized manner. It will be necessary to assess the needs and interests regarding the schooling of their children in the mother tongue, the problem of their overall inclusion in work and life, and the satisfaction of cultural and other needs.

We must pay greater attention to those groups of citizens of other nations and nationalities who have greater difficulties with the language and other questions of equal participation. I particularly refer to the Albanians and the general position of Romanians.

According to the last census, 90 percent of the people in Slovenia are Slovenes and 10 percent are members of other nations and nationalities. The national homogeneity of the population in Slovenia is being reduced especially in larger urban and industrial centers. We shall, therefore, have to be sensitive toward these questions and resolutely prevent intolerance or even chauvinist phenomena, Andrej Marinc emphasized. As regards the Slovene language, there exist the stances adopted by the Presidium of the Central Committee and the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia. The supervision of the Slovene language will have to be socialized to a greater extent. In the conclusion of his speech at yesterday's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, Andrej Marinc emphasized the exceptional importance of reciprocal information on the economic, social, and cultural development which contributes to the improvement of relations between the republics and provinces.

We must avoid sensationalism and one-sided presentation which distort the actual conditions in the republics and autonomous provinces and in the life and work of other nations and nationalities, Andrej Marinc said.

CORRECTION TO ITEM ON MOJSOV TALKS WITH PAPOULIAS

In the item entitled "Mojsov Holds Talks With Greece's Papoulyas" published in the 16 March Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page I 7, in the headline and the second paragraph, line three, the spelling of "Papoulyas" should be changed to "Papoulias".

BRIEFS

NEW YOUTH RADIO STATION -- A youth radio station will go into operation in Zagreb, as of 1 April, providing young people in this region with the latest pop music. In the opinion of Croatian party functionaries, the new program will at long last keep the young people between 15 and 25 years of age in the region from tuning their transistor radios to the Austrian "OE-3" program. According to Zagreb City Secretary Ivan Majstorovic, the new station, which is to go by the name of "Radio Student," will not confine its programs to pop music, but will primarily have to support the fulfillment of the ideopolitical, cultural, and educational tasks of the Socialist Youth Association. [Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Mar 83 p 14 AU]